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OPPOSITION TO UNEQUAL EDUCATION: TOWARD UNDERSTANDING BLACK
PEOPLE'S OBJECTION TO APARTHEID EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

A Dissertation Presented

by

MPHO MOHLALA

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1994

School of Education

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OPPOSITION TO UNEQUAL EDUCATION: TOWARD UNDERSTANDING
BLACK PEOPLE'S OBJECTION TO APARTHEID EDUCATION IN SOUTH
AFRICA

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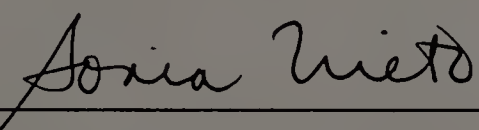
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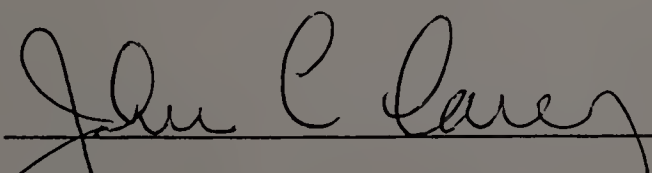
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DEDICATION

This work is heartily dedicated to my two daughters - Neo (11 years) and Tshepiso (2 years); and to my mother and brothers. Most important, it is indebted to my most valued grandfather Marcus Makoropo, who passed away on August 11, 1993.

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ABSTRACT

OPPOSITION TO UNEQUAL EDUCATION: TOWARD UNDERSTANDING BLACK
PEOPLE'S OBJECTIONS TO APARTHEID EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

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The problem examined in this research is that South Africa practices a system of education that sorts people in a way that makes Blacks receive unequal and separate education. The closer people are to the white power structure, the better their education and the farther away they are, the poorer their access to opportunities for a quality education on equal terms. In other words, it seems that the more white you are, the more opportunities and benefits you receive. This system of education does not appear to help students, especially black children and youth, learn at high levels of accomplishment. Rather, it creates long lasting problems in people's lives and as such may need to be restructured in a

way that permits students of all backgrounds to receive a quality education on equal terms.

The purpose of the study was to understand reasons selected black South Africans seem to oppose their education system. More specifically, perceptions of these black people were helpful in suggesting the directions in which educational reform in South Africa ought to go.

Specifically, the study was guided by two major research questions:

1. What are the perceptions selected black South African adults in the United States have toward their experiences in the apartheid education system in South Africa?

2. What are the recommendations of selected black South African adults in the United States for improving the education system for children and youth in South Africa?

To answer these questions, interviews were used to collect data. Seven black South African adults were interviewed and their responses were analyzed, organized and thematically presented. One finding of the study is that apartheid education seems responsible for making respondents feel inadequate, incapable, less human, unable to think critically, inferior, anxious to venture in life beyond school, helpless, uneasy, and dubious to participate in class related activities.

The findings of the study show that the education of black people in South Africa deserves speedy attention and major reform. The study concludes that apartheid education

is an intolerable system of education that should be eliminated. The form of education to be created is a matter for intense discussion and wise decision making which may lead to quality education for all South Africans. The study recommends that black people should understand their historical underpinnings to help restore their confidence, to dispel negative fabrications, and to become contributors in the development of quality education in South Africa.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

South Africa is a country torn apart by internal conflicts due to its system of apartheid. Racism, illiteracy, and inequity are commonplace. This study is guided by the assumption that apartheid does an incalculable and unpardonable harm in people of all racial and class backgrounds. Any person, regardless of nationality and gender, is likely to suffer some consequences under a repressive environment (Mohlala, 1992). Kozol (1967); Fanon (1968); Manganyi (1973; 1977) also assert that the human condition suffers through exposure to apartheid or oppressive environments.

The essence of apartheid is to ensure that the South African citizenry is sorted according to skin colour, the aim being to achieve certain political and economic goals (Tabata, 1960). This sorting of people in South Africa resulted into more than ten education departments. Examples of these educational divisions include: the Department of Education and Training (urban Africans); the Department of Education and Culture (Indian, Coloured and White own affairs); the Departments of Education Bophuthatswana; Ciskei; Lebowa; Venda; Qwaqwa; KwaNdebele; KwaZulu; KaNgwane, and Transkei. The latter nine departments of education are all black homeland education departments which were created

by the government for certain political and economic reasons (South African Race Relations, 1989 - 1990).

There is duplication and waste of money by all these different education departments. Some people benefit more at the expense of others. Blacks in particular do not seem to benefit much from the education they receive. The per capita expenditure between white and black children is alarmingly different (see Appendix B), despite reports that it has narrowed down (South African Race Relations, 1991-1992). This is clear indication that Blacks are treated differently and unequally from everybody else, and their lives are subjected to great jeopardy -- economically and academically.

The type of education received by Blacks in South Africa does not adequately prepare them for full participation in the development of the country (Alex Thembela in Smollan, 1986). In other words, education in South Africa does not promote students' critical thinking skills, instead it "domesticates" and "bastardizes" (turns people into morons) them (Tabata, 1960; Freire, 1974; Christie, 1986). Students are being seen as blank slates, empty bottles and depositories by school authorities such as teachers and administrators (Freire, 1974; Woodson, 1977; Kunjufu, 1988).

Mohlala (1992, pp.2, 9 & 10), in talking about the effect of apartheid on the human condition, states that:

Under [such] a system that encourages and promotes hate, prejudice, inequality, and elevates white supremacy, most Blacks -- mostly black children, grow up less confident than Whites and also feeling

dehumanized. Often they see themselves as incapable of performing certain activities due to their skin pigmentation. . . . Several times in casual or loose conversations Whites are mentioned as referents for measuring [the majority of] black people's performance and lifestyles. . . .

Subjection to poor living conditions, exposure to inferior and unequal education, exclusion from the economic structures, are but some of the discourses or policies of apartheid that get into the hearts and minds of most black South Africans -- young and old. They then [begin to] feel worthless compared to their white counterparts. Such abasement does get in the way of most Blacks, and unconsciously or consciously hinder them from making progress in their lives.

These characterizations of apartheid in South Africa only account for a small portion of objections against the system. The educational problems as indicated in the quotation above yielded the nature of the problem to be studied. Merriam (1988, p.41) explains the concept "problem of study" in the following way:

A problem in the conventional sense is a matter involving doubt, uncertainty, or difficulty. A person with a problem usually seeks a solution, some clarification, or a decision. . . . For Dewey (1933, p.13), a problem is anything that "perplexes" and challenges the mind so that it makes belief uncertain. Guba (1978, p.44) is more specific. For him, a research problem is a "situation resulting from the interaction or juxtaposition of two or more factors." It is this

juxtaposition, in Dewey's words, that perplexes and challenges the mind.

The problem examined in this study is that South Africa practices a system of education that sorts people in a way that makes Blacks receive an unequal and separate education. The closer people are to the white power structure, the better their education, and the farther away they are, the poorer their access to opportunities for a quality education on equal terms. In other words, it seems that the more white you are, the more opportunities and benefits you receive. This system of education does not appear to help students, especially black children and youth, learn at high levels of accomplishment. Rather it creates long lasting problems in people's lives and as such may need to be restructured in a way that permits students of all backgrounds to receive a quality education on equal terms.

The educational problems in South Africa are a source of concern and dissatisfaction to some people both in the country and in other parts of the world where unequal education is still an issue. Evidence of such dissatisfaction can be seen through a recurrence of school and consumer boycotts. Other evidence include sit-ins; marches; and mass demonstrations by students; teachers; and academics in black institutions of higher learning across the country. The study thus, seeks to investigate and understand the basis of such concerns.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to better understand reasons some black South Africans seem to oppose their education system. More specifically, perceptions of selected black South Africans regarding their education system in the country will be helpful in suggesting the directions in which educational reform in this country ought to go.

Some people, both inside and outside South Africa, have come to the realization that education for black South Africans is inadequate and does not fully prepare them for a positive future. Numerous educators have demonstrated that apartheid education promotes low self-esteem among Blacks, and is used to keep them socially, economically, politically and educationally immobile (Thembela; Abedian and Schlemmer in Smollan, 1986). Objections to apartheid education have made it possible for alternative educational structures, which will be dealt with in the subsequent chapter, to mushroom in South Africa. There is a conviction on the part of some Blacks that non-governmental educational structures will liberate the minds of the oppressed, thus preparing them for independence and self-directed learning.

Following are the research questions that helped shape the study:

1. What are the perceptions that selected black South African adults in the United States have toward their experiences in the apartheid education system in South Africa?

2. What are the recommendations of selected black South African adults in the United States for improving the education system for children and youth in South Africa?

Responses to these questions may lead to suggestions that can help introduce an equitable system of education in South Africa. A clear understanding of the objections to apartheid education will enable some people to have a vivid picture of what type of education Blacks in South Africa want and possible directions for action.

Meaning of Terms

Following is an explanation of key concepts that will be used in the study.

Apartheid: According to Tabata (1960, p.2) apartheid is characterized as ". . . a policy of baasskap (literally, boss-ship). . . which prescribes a rigid demarcation between White and Non-White and sets a ceiling to the development of the Non-White population." The essence of the policy is to keep Non-Whites (especially Blacks) at the level of cheap labour (reserve labour army). Tabata continues; "The fact that even a few Non-Whites have managed to acquire professions fills them [Whites] with alarm. This small trickle is to them a threat to White baasskap. It is a manifest proof of their ability to succeed in spite of the many impediments. It is a symbol of all that the Non-Europeans are capable of achieving and undermines the myth,

so jealously fostered, of the superiority of the white man. Thus, the rulers must immediately arrest the process and close every loophole for further development along this course" (1960, p.2).

The Encyclopedia Americana (1992, p.88) explains the apartheid concept as, "An Afrikaans word meaning "apartness" Such segregation rests on sociological assumptions that races are the fundamental divisions of humanity; and that each race, or in the case of the Blacks each major ethnolinguistic group, has its own peculiar culture and destiny, which cannot be fulfilled if the various groups intermingle in a common society. From these premises it is argued that a country such as South Africa -- where Blacks form a majority of the population and Whites, Asians, and Coloureds (people of mixed descent) are in the minority -- should separate its "races" into distinct territories, each of which ultimately should become an autonomous state. In actuality, however, apartheid functions as an instrument of white supremacy, based on history and custom and buttressed not only by segregation laws but also by security legislation and the full coercive powers of the state."

The above definitions suggest a consensus on what apartheid is and what its intended uses are. There is agreement that its aim is to permanently separate the South African population into watertight compartments -- a fragmented society, economically, educationally, socially, and politically. The policy of apartheid does not seem to

have been stumbled upon by accident, but it was a planned form of subjugating people, formally introduced in South Africa in 1948 by the Afrikaner power structure. Though this system of apartheid was legalized in 1948, it appears to have been in practice long before then, at least in a more subtle way. The separateness and continued suppression of some people has resulted in a noticeable hate amongst the different populations and ethnicities in the country.

Apartheid Education: Apartheid education is a system of education practiced in South Africa where different population groups receive separate, unequal, and racist education based on their skin colour. In other words, the closer people are to the ruling white community, the better their education. The worst inconvenienced population group by this type of education system are the Blacks. The latter, occupy the bottom part of the educational rung in South Africa.

Bantu Education: This is an education system strictly meant for black people in South Africa. This type of education is structured in such a way that it relegates Blacks to mental and economic servitude. It was effected after the Afrikaners assumed power in 1948. Specifically, the bill introducing separate education was effected in 1953. Recently the concept of Bantu Education is being replaced by the Department of Education and Training.

Blacks: This is a generic term used by liberation movements in South Africa to refer to all "Non-Whites" who have suffered and are still suffering under the apartheid policy. The Black Consciousness Movement (Arnold, 1987, p.13) explains; "We have in our policy manifesto defined Blacks as those who are by law or tradition politically, economically and socially discriminated against as a group in the South African society and identifying themselves as a unit in the struggle towards the realization of their aspirations." These people who are by "law and tradition" ostracized include Africans (native or indigenous people of the country), Indians and "Coloureds."

It appears as if the broader definition of Blacks was sought to restore unity amongst the oppressed masses of the country, since the government has made them to view each other as separate and different. This is a commonly agreed upon definition within the liberation movements because it is their conviction that the original aim of apartheid was to sow the seed of division amongst people so that it can be able to govern them with ease. Thus the apartheid regime managed to set the oppressed at loggerheads with one another. The oppressed in turn started calling one another names and cultivating among themselves a spirit of hate, not realizing that they all suffer the same consequences.

The concept of Blacks, as used in this study will be inter-changeable with Africans. Focus on Africans is used as an illustration of what an oppressive system of government

can do to a people. The reader should not mistake this definition as furtherance of the racist "divide and rule" strategy of the government. Understanding the hardships endured by the majority of the people of South Africa will possibly shed some light on how the other "Non-Whites" survive under apartheid. The assumption is that apartheid affects the other "Non-White" groups the same way it affects Blacks.

The only difference between the definition used here and that by the liberation movements in South Africa is that theirs is inclusive of the so-called Coloureds and Indians while I single out one specific group within the oppressed masses. Stated differently, the concept of "Blacks" is used in this study in its historical sense.

Significance of the Study

South Africa is preparing to undergo serious changes. Yet, these changes (the repealing of certain key apartheid laws such as the Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act) do not seem to be sufficient to undo the harm people feel has been done to them. In short, there seems to be much ground to be covered in terms of restructuring education in the country.

This study will significantly contribute to knowledge about the overt and hidden messages of apartheid education by helping people of all backgrounds to become more aware of and sensitive to the present educational problems in South

Africa. It will encourage the South African society to seriously and critically look at their education and intelligently seek out ways of bringing fundamental changes that will provide quality education to all people in the country. It has been my observation that not all people (particularly Africans) are fully aware of the relationship between the country's segregationist policies and their everyday lives. Enforcing these laws makes it, in the long run, appear as if the system is a natural phenomenon.

Blacks are born in this system, breathe it like air, and ultimately some of them take it to be part of their life style. Black people's level of awareness will be further raised and this in turn may help them fight the system with enthusiasm and vigor.

The study will contribute to academic practice both in South Africa and in other settings, particularly in the area of curriculum development. Understanding the participants' viewpoints about their education in South Africa might also encourage teachers, administrators, and any person working with students to create environments conducive to the learning of students of all backgrounds. As such, the meanings and perceptions participants attach to their education will certainly help curriculum developers and educators design a more equitable education system. To design a new curriculum, the respective people should be knowledgeable about past curricula practices so that they can be better informed educational and curricula experts or

critics. More important, those people working closely with children should strive to be familiar with students' experiences so that they can be able to help them succeed in school.

Policy makers in South Africa and elsewhere might find the study rewarding. Their realization that apartheid education does more harm to the human condition, might spur them to establish policies that will ensure that all children have access to quality education on equal terms.

The study is also significant because few studies have explored the perceptions of Blacks concerning their everyday lives in apartheid South Africa. Most of the published works are written about Africans by Non-Africans. What is common in such works is the foreigners' or Non-Africans' perceptions of the conditions of Africans under apartheid. Though contributions about the injustices of apartheid by people other than black South Africans are more than welcome and often valuable, it will be most fulfilling to hear what meaning the oppressed themselves attach to the system of education in their country. Therefore, this study will help readers see and understand apartheid through the eyes of the direct victims of the apartheid system.

Delimitations of the Study

There are certain boundaries relating to the study of which the reader should be aware when considering the findings.

First, this study centered on seven selected Black South African adults who are currently in the United States for various purposes and on different circumstances. Particular interest was given to these Blacks because of their exposure to other educational experiences beyond apartheid education, competence and knowledge of the social, economic, educational and political issues surrounding them, and interest in making positive contributions to their education in South Africa upon completion of their studies in the United States.

Second, generalizations about the findings of the study are only restricted to the study participants. The reason for delimiting generalization of the findings to the seven study participants is partly because of the size of the sample and partly because of the composition thereof. All participants are highly educated and well established in their professions and their perceptions might have been influenced by their exposure to education outside South Africa. Nonetheless, the advantage of working with fewer people permitted in-depth interviewing and also enhanced collegiality between the researcher and the participants.

The idea of the study was not to make sweeping generalizations about what participants report as objectionable, but to better understand their perceptions about education for Blacks in South Africa, and what they might recommend for improving the quality of education in their country.

Finally, the study is also limited in what changes in policy and practice may be made as a result. While participants may suggest certain changes, it is unclear if or how those changes will actually be implemented. Nonetheless, their suggestions deserve attention in an attempt to better education in South Africa.

The subsequent chapter will focus on what scholars both in South Africa and in other settings report as objectionable about their systems of education.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review served two purposes. Primarily, it helped the researcher to have a better grip on the context of the study. It assisted the researcher to competently attack the problem under investigation. Equally important, this section provided a conceptual base for the study. The study sought to understand objections some black South Africans have about their education system, particularly the quality of education in their country.

The reason for using interviews as a form of data collection was to garner the personal views of South Africans about apartheid education and their recommendations for the future. As a necessary context for this discussion, the literature review looked at current theory in three ways. First, views of educators about apartheid education in South Africa and elsewhere are explored. The purpose here was to indicate how different people react to the apartheid or unequal educational situation in South Africa and in other parts of the world. Second, immediate steps toward defeating unequal education are advanced. This part served as a reminder to educators as well as the public that educational problems should be thoughtfully dealt with so that all students can receive quality education. It answered the following question: What steps do educators take in solving their educational problems? Finally, some thoughts about the

future education in South Africa are detailed. This section reflected some thoughts on what educators thought education in a future South Africa should be like. Continual key parallels with the United States and other countries where educational inequity for certain ethnic groups is still a big issue were drawn. The reason for drawing such parallels was because there was much to be learned from the comparisons.

For a long time the United States in particular has been involved in an attempt to dismantle its unequal and separate education. More specifically, since the Board of Education versus Brown decision was rendered in 1954, there has been some progress made toward improving the education of African-Americans and other minorities such as Latinos. There is still much to be done to improve the conditions of learning of African-Americans and other people of colour. Thus, the long term historical and political experiences of the United States in educational issues (specifically unequal education) might provide lessons from which South Africa can learn in its effort to positively restructure the country's education system. As such the cited works of educators in the United States and elsewhere should be understood in the way described above.

Views of Educators about Apartheid Education in South Africa

Education in South Africa is classified according to race. It also differs in terms of its quality in the sense that the closer people are to the white community, the better the quality of their education and the farther away they are,

the poorer their access to opportunities for a quality education on equal terms (South African Race Relations, 1991-1992). Regardless of the current "changes," schools are virtually still separate. There is unequal distribution of crucial resources, and the quality of education in black schools is not that encouraging (Murphy, 1992). This does not imply that nothing good comes out of these schools. However, most educators would argue that had it not been for obstacles created by apartheid, Blacks and other oppressed South Africans would have progressed farther. These inequalities and other related problems have triggered many responses and opposition toward apartheid education from different people.

Education in South Africa has been a source of discontent for a very long time. Since formal education was introduced by the Europeans in 1658, it is reported that the people it was meant for (Blacks) reacted by staying away. Christie (1986, p.222) captures it nicely:

Whatever the reasons, the slaves resisted these attempts to school them. The earliest form of their resistance was to run away. Once, the school stayed out for five days and hid in a cave near Bay. The teacher was instructed to try and win their attention with a lot of rum and a few inches of tobacco each [perhaps that is where the name Hottentots -- hot ten tots, comes from]. But the slaves continued to run away until the school was closed down.

It is not clear, as Christie says, if the students or the slave community were distrustful of the intentions of the newcomers or whether they saw schooling as being forced upon them. Some degree of skepticism about the settlers' move toward schooling was evident in the slaves' actions.

In the twentieth century, specifically from the twenties through the forties, opposition to black education took a different turn, taking the form of riots and demonstrations. Students took to the streets in expression of their anger, frustrations and dissatisfaction about their education, and the living conditions in their schools. The main contributing factors to the unrests appeared to have been poor diet and mistreatment of students by the authorities (Christie, 1986). The fifties were marked by a "symbolic" form of opposition, triggered partly by the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Extension of University Education Act of 1959. These legislations ensured that Blacks receive separate and unequal education which is based on their skin colour. In the sixties another move of opposition (Black Consciousness) came into being, and its objections were comprehensive in nature (Christie, 1986).

In the seventies, opposition to apartheid education was mainly led by students as it was the case in the 1976 Soweto protests. Several factors were cited for causing the unrest: the announcement by the government that Afrikaans should be the medium of instruction in schools; lack of resources; overcrowding; shortage of schools; and ill-educated teachers

(Mathonsi, 1988; Johnson, 1992). During this period students marched, burned governmental buildings, addressed mass meetings and demonstrated. Black tertiary institutions joined efforts with students, and public schools and institutions of higher learning were disrupted on numerous occasions. At times, in tertiary institutions grievances ranged from poor diet to racist remarks by some faculty members.

Other critics of apartheid education see it as "deviant and bizarre," undemocratic, and of low quality (Behr, 1988). Roger Edgar (Kallaway, 1986); Wa Thiongo (1986); Alex Thembela (Smollan, 1986); and Kunjufu (1988) all conclude that education for Blacks has a negative effect on their culture. Edgar believes that such undemocratic system of education imposes ". . . alien cultural values and ideologies on African children, divorcing them from traditional beliefs and conditioning them to accept subservient positions in a European-dominated system" (Roger Edgar in Kallaway, 1986, p.186). Wa Thiongo points out (though not directly relating to South Africa) that ". . . [colonialism] annihilate[s] a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves" (1986, p.3).

Amidst this annihilation of black people's culture, Fanon (1968) maintains that white people always enjoyed transmitting their cultures to Blacks without any

consideration of learning and adopting the latter's culture. Though the authors might be relating experiences outside South Africa, one connecting thread between these experiences is that apartheid education appears to be involved in the same conspiracy as the colonialism characterized by Wa Thiongo.

It was not only students who opposed the system. Parents also took part in that struggle. Teachers too did not like ". . . to work a double session day with larger classes [where] employment qualifications would be lowered, salaries (it was made clear) would remain at their existing (and inadequate) levels, and teachers would be reduced to the level of state employees" (Tom Lodge in Kallaway, 1986, p.270). Also contributing to teachers' rejection of apartheid education was perhaps their realization that they were being used by the state to help it produce cheap labour and an unschooled and uneducated citizenry. Most teachers felt that this system of apartheid denied them freedom of expression, academic freedom and that it inculcated "servility and denied people their human decency" (Jonathan Hyslop; Kumi Naidoo; and Mokubung Nkomo in Nkomo, 1990). Parents' and teachers' actions toward showing objection to apartheid education sometimes resulted in deaths, suspension without pay or expulsion from work. When relating to what happened to him as a consequence of showing some dissatisfaction with Bantu education, Es'kia Mphahlele says, "My career as a teacher was immediately jeopardized for an

indefinite period. What is more, my self-respect was threatened subsequently by my inability to provide adequately for my family" (Manganyi, 1983, p.121).

In addressing the superiority inferiority feelings in people, Hirson (1979); Pam Christie and Colin Collins (Kallaway, 1986); Nkosinathi Gwala (Cobbett and Cohen, 1988) demonstrate that apartheid education instills in some people, for example Whites, the view that they are ". . . of a pure race which needs to maintain its purity by racial segregation. The policy of apartheid is geared toward establishing their own identity and removing other groups either geographically or culturally from them" (Christie and Collins in Kallaway, 1986, p.161). The essence here appears to be the belief that Blacks are inferior to Whites, and as a consequence their education should be structured such that they remain locked out of the academic, political and economic world as servants to the white supremacy.

There is also an observation by the oppressed that apartheid education handicaps their advancement in the wider economic world while white education sets no limits to its people (Pam Christie and Colin Collins in Kallaway, 1986); Iraj Abedian (Smollan, 1986).

Woodson (1977, p.xiii) addressing segregated education, specifically education for African-Americans in the United States, says:

The same educational process that inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he

[she] is everything and has accomplished everything worth while; depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him [her] feel that his [her] race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other people. The Negro educated is a hopeless liability of the race.

In two of his works (1967; 1991), Kozol condemns the unequal education in the United States because he sees it as "impairing [children's] confidence, distorting their self-image, and lowering their motivation and encouraging prejudice within children." Some educators voice their concerns about the authoritarian way in which minority students in the United States are taught, where often "deviation from the prescribed course of learning is [perceived as a] "sin" (Tyler 1987). These educational observations and experiences in the United States seem true in South Africa.

The notion that apartheid education is ". . . calculated to serve as an instrument for creating and ensuring the continuance of a voteless, right-less and ignorant community whose main purpose in life, apart from reproducing their kind is to minister to the Whites," makes it detestable to educators such as Tabata (1969, p.51). Mohlala (1992, pp.42 and 44), commenting on how education for Blacks in South Africa affects students, shares this information:

Bantu [Apartheid] Education then [has] its curriculum geared in the direction of fit-for-

Blacks-kind-of-jobs such as clerical, nursing, teaching, theology, agriculture, and so forth. . . . The point is that apartheid education works to the benefit of white people and to the detriment of Blacks. This closure of avenues and non-development of all human capacities has a purpose and potential of making the oppressed feel intellectually incapable and inferior to other people. . . . It fools people into believing that some people deserve more than others on the basis of race other than on merit, and that this differential treatment is God's creation. Both black and white children grow up with a myopic or skewed picture of life -- that Black is inferior and white is superior. Black education is highly underfunded [South African Race Relations, 1991 - 1992; Vergnani, 1992] and that might be interpreted to mean that the oppressed are supposed to get less education, less hope and less motivation.

Some of the big opponents of education for the oppressed (Blacks in South Africa and people of colour in the United States) argue that unequal and segregated education uses students as banks wherein teachers can make depositories (impartation of information) and withdrawals (testing of students) at will. Such education, they add, promotes passivity and uncritical thinking skills in children (Freire, 1974; Spring, 1975). Spring further highlights that "Education as banking is not liberating but contributes to the docility and alienation of the oppressed. The model

presented to the oppressed of what they should be like is a model shaped by the oppressor" (1975, p.63).

Kraak (1992, p.4) indicates that apartheid education is modeled on an ". . . economic system based on low cost standardized production, demanding low skill levels. . . ." On speaking about the education of the oppressed, Aronowitz and Giroux (1985) state that this type of education seems to be inclusive because of its emphasis on Western subjects. They also indicate that it "excludes black studies, and other forms of knowledge important to the working class and other subordinate groups." Sometimes "faulty education" is blamed for causing high student failure rate because of being used as "a mechanism of social control" (Glasser, 1969; Mathonsi, 1988). Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that the greatest problem with education detested by Freire and other educators is its tendency to reduce the student ". . . to an "object" of administration, "busy-work," and standardized tests. . . ."

There is some resemblance between the type of education portrayed by Freire in Brazil, and education for the oppressed in South Africa because neither education system encourages an ". . . exchange [of] ideas, but to dictate them, not to debate or discuss themes, but to give lectures; not to work with the student, but to work on him [or her], imposing an order to which he [or she] has had to accommodate. By giving the student formulas to receive and store, we have not offered him [her] the means for authentic

thought; assimilation results from search, from effort to recreate and reinvent" (1973, p.38).

Immediate Action Toward Defeating Unequal Education

Objection to apartheid education in itself, though understandable, does not seem sufficient. Such objection should presumably go together with understanding the problem, and should be followed by positive action toward undoing the damage done by segregated education in South Africa. Until a stage of action is embarked upon, words or concerns will just remain that and nothing else.

What have the oppressed in South Africa and their sympathizers both in the country and internationally done to close the educational gap they report as being created by an unequal separatist system of education?

Formal education in South Africa seems to have failed to deliver on an equal basis to all its people. Some educators see redemption in non-formal educational structures such as cultural clubs (Christie, 1986; Murphy, 1992). Alternative educational structures have taken varied forms, for example, tele-education (such as People's College; South African Council of Higher Education-SACHED). People's College aimed at supplementing the inadequacies of black education by addressing (in newspaper form) information not covered in the Department of Education and Training's (DET's) school curriculum. It was run through the Weekend World newspaper, which was banned in 1977 (Christie, 1986). Though it is not certain if the paper reached all the people it was intended

to reach, it provided an alternative learning forum for most black children.

SACHED (City Press, 1986; Christie, 1986) was established to help, mostly and not solely, students who had difficulty making it through matric or students enrolled at University of South Africa (UNISA). It also runs Turret Correspondence College, which is its secondary educational branch. Other non-governmental educational structures include Teacher Opportunity Programs (TOPS) and Promat College that ". . . help fill this void [Blacks' educational gap created by apartheid education] by providing inservice training of under-qualified teachers on a large scale" (Wyatt and Cress, 1992, p.7).

Furthermore, an initiative by an institution like The Science Education Project [SEP] has ". . . developed science kits for use in schools without laboratories or electricity; PROTEC provides a weekend and holiday enrichment curriculum, particularly for those students interested in the sciences and engineering; the Education Information Center produces study guides -- across the subject areas -- for use in vacation schools for black students preparing for exams" (Wyatt and Cress, 1992, p.7).

The problem about cultural clubs and other forms of educational initiatives is their ucompetitiveness with formal schooling which entices and rewards its students with certificates. However, non government organizations such as (TOPS) can lead to black South Africans receiving

matriculation (college or university entrance diplomas) certificates.

Another action taken by opponents of apartheid education was the establishment of People's Education by the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) (Eric Molobi; Jonathan Hyslop in Cobbett and Cohen, 1988; Jonathan Hyslop (Nkomo, 1990); Jonathan Jansen (Radical Teacher, undated). People's Education (specifically People's English), to the multitude of South Africans, seems to entail a "pedagogy of empowerment" (Peirce, 1989).

Of the alternative educational structures sought, some survived (for example, People's Education and SACHED), at least to an extent, the repressive measures of the government. Others (for example, People's College) did not escape the governmental hang noose (Christie, 1986). All these structures are indications of black people's discontent about their state of education. It is this dissatisfaction that prompts them to think about other fruitful ways of making a difference in their lives.

Like in South Africa, some Blacks in the United States are showing signs of dissatisfaction with the type of education they or their children are receiving. There is a move towards going back to exclusively black schools. There is also a strong feeling among these African-Americans that their integrated schools are not meeting their expectations. It is alleged that the curriculum is structured according to Europeans' world views, and does not do much good in helping

black children successfully learn, particularly black boys (Kunjufu, 1985). Asante (News week, 1991) thus believes in Afrocentric education because he strongly thinks it might close the educational gap among people of colour created by unequal education in the United States. Afrocentric education implies African centered education, where African-American children are taught about their heritage and culture, among other important educational information. Advocacy for such type of education rests partly on the basis that the present mainstream American education is exclusionary and has failed to adequately educate African-American children and youth. Therefore, an introduction of Afrocentric education, some people believe, will instill back their lost human worth and dignity thus making it possible for these children to succeed in their learning.

So far it seems clearer why oppressive and unequal education is so objectionable to some people. This will be a prelude to a higher level of understanding education in South Africa and in other places. This section covered steps taken in an attempt to defeat unequal education in South Africa and elsewhere. The following section of the review will be helpful in suggesting future educational directions in a democratic South Africa.

Some Thoughts about the Future Education in South Africa

It is a truism that Blacks in South Africa would like to see the demise of apartheid education and its replacement by

a system of education that will be beneficial to people of all racial and class back-grounds.

For people to start pondering questions concerning next steps, they should first have an understanding of their current situation and what took place in the past. Events are temporally related, a fact so well stated by Mokubung Nkomo:

The future is embedded in the present as the present bears imprints of the past. Therefore, any project that is designed to contemplate a reconstruction of the future education in a transformed South Africa must first be grounded on a firm understanding of the educational arrangement and the crisis it has produced. From such an understanding must then issue a clear vision of the sort of education enterprise that will serve the broad interests of a unitary and democratically continued society (1990, p.291).

Reflection on a post-apartheid education is currently receiving serious consideration by South Africa's oppressed masses (Blacks, the so-called Indians and Coloureds) and their sympathizers. The new education, unlike its predecessor, should strive for equipping all South Africans with quality and usable knowledge (Mokubung Nkomo in Nkomo, 1990). Mbulelo Vizikhungo Mzamane (Nkomo, 1990, p.365) suggests that:

A cultural approach to the many legitimate questions that were raised about the current state and future direction of South Africa's educational system is essential. Such an approach is necessary to the construction of both a framework and a

curriculum for an education system that will restore the underprivileged and oppressed to their history and culture and at the same time validate cultural pluralism in its positive aspects in South Africa.

On addressing a post-apartheid curriculum setup in South Africa, Jonathan Jansen (Nkomo, 1990) asserts that whatever future type of education people talk about, it should be able to empower students and the community so that they can see the hidden messages of apartheid education.

Different educators see the educational situation in South Africa differently. They usually stress different, yet equally important aspects of education. Some emphasize "the thinking skills approach" when talking about Science Education in a future education dispensation because they feel this is another way children might be able to discover their potential (Mehl in Nkomo, 1990). Other educators strongly suggest education toward self-reliance. They favour learning through doing because "Education with production is a learning process which combines academic studies and vocational relationship between labor and intellect. . . . " (Bethuel Setai in Nkomo, 1990, p.393).

The South African government's initiative to improve education for Blacks appears to be in stark contrast with what some black educators and oppressed people have in mind. The Department of Education and Training (van der Westhuizen, 1992) advocates educational improvement through a top down management. Those in opposition to such initiatives suggest

that ". . . education would have to be decentralized through regionalization and through structures that cross racial boundaries" (Mphahlele, 1990, p.46).

Harold Wolpe (Unterhalter; Wolpe; and Botha 1992, p.16) warn about the complications that might cloud efforts toward the restructuring of education in South Africa. He says that "What is needed is the preparation of democratically reached development strategies and, within these, appropriate policies of education and training." There are also general outcries by some scholars in South Africa about the shortage and poor teacher qualifications in the country. They believe that an improvement in teacher shortages and qualifications will add to the strengths of a future education system, and that there is a need for teachers to have freedom of expression regarding school related issues (David Johnson in Unterhalter; Wolpe; and Botha, 1992).

According to Derrick Swartz (Unterhalter; Wolpe; and Botha, 1992), the restructuring of education should look into the system of certification, which in South Africa is a regulator against black people's advancement -- economically and educationally.

Though referring to the education of Blacks (and other minorities) in the United States, Frankenstein suggests revolutionizing mathematics -- specifically, the introduction of "Critical Mathematical Literacy" in the curriculum (1990; 1991). She assumes that people already think mathematically in their lives. She insists that:

To understand their ways of thinking mathematically, we need to reconsider and redefine conventional notions of mathematical knowledge. We need to learn about how culture -- daily practice, language, and ideology -- interacts with people's views of mathematics and their ways of thinking mathematically.

What Frankenstein suggests will definitely be food for thought in the effort to positively reform education for people of all backgrounds in South Africa.

African languages seem to receive a low regard in South Africa. The only languages equated with success appear to be English and Afrikaans. Some black scholars, nonetheless, seem to have a high regard for African languages, though not rejecting the two European languages. Mawasha, an advocate for elevating African languages to their rightful status, argues that "What might happen is that African languages might assume greater importance as subjects in English and Afrikaans medium schools. This would probably be done in order to bring the multilingual and multicultural nature of the sub-content into sharp focus and so control the problem of language being the traditional South African polarizer" (1968, p.23).

Suggestions for improving education for the oppressed take different directions. Spring in suggesting ways of bringing educational improvement for minorities (or the oppressed by implication) thinks that it is very crucial and necessary ". . . to bring those in a culture of silence

[Blacks in South Africa] to an understanding of self which would allow them to expel the internalized image of the dominant class. . . ." He also favours the "conscientization" of the oppressed because "without this consciousness people are unable to become actors in the stream of history and are simply acted upon by history;" and he encourages radical changes to education of the oppressed" (1975, pp.63 and 70).

Women's education seems to be one of the key issues in South Africa's attempt to restructure its education system. Liberation movements, educators and other concerned people argue that for women's education to be realized in South Africa, it has to be accompanied by changes in the economic, political and legal frameworks of the country (E. Unterhalter in Unterhalter; Wolpe and Botha, 1992). Another source of concern about apartheid education is the issue of teacher imbalances. Educators caution that a new South Africa should not invest on the juggling of teachers (and students) to institutions that are understaffed or have low student enrollment. Johnson, (Unterhalter; Wolpe and Botha, 1992) specifically warns future educational carvers in South Africa that ". . . transforming teacher [student] education is not merely a matter of desegregating and de-racialising [the] current institutional provision. Similarly, simple deployment of teachers [and students to affluent schools or] to disadvantaged communities would not be sufficient to address the current imbalances. A radical trans-formation of

the socio-economic and political infra-structure, to ensure equal opportunities and equal access to educational institutions is necessary" (p.192).

As South Africa is getting into a new era, some people feel that it is time to encourage integration of students from different racial, ethnic, political, and economic backgrounds, starting from primary school level -- the very base of education. Some people think that getting different racial and ethnic children together should be steadily introduced and free of government coercion (Bot, 1990).

Bot's suggestion that students, specifically in South Africa should be streamed does not enjoy support from some people. Referring to education in the United States, Glasser (1969, p.81) insists that ". . . students, therefore, should be placed and kept in heterogeneous classes -- that is, classes in which the students are grouped only by age." Gardiner (1990, p.161) envisages a type of education which should align itself with the principles of People's Education. [That is an education which] ". . . will not be confined to schools and conventional institutions of learning. [He maintains that] . . . the engagement of all people and all spheres of activity in continual education is a particularly marked feature of People's Education."

As indicated in this literature review section, there are parallels between apartheid education in South Africa and segregated education in the United States and in other parts of the world. In an effort to bring an educational

improvement in public schools across the United States, Nieto and Sinclair (1991, p.39) heartily believe that "The major mission of public schools [anywhere in the world, should be] to provide an educational setting that ensures high quality learning for all children from all families on equal terms. [This is] . . . both a moral and legal obligation, yet one which is not always met." Their vision of the purpose of schooling is shared by most South African educators.

These are some of the changes that the majority of people would like to see take place in a future South Africa. They are still thoughts and therefore subject to intense discussion by all South Africans.

This chapter looked at the concerns of various scholars regarding apartheid education in particular and unequal education in other parts of the world. Focus was also on what steps have been taken by these people to correct the situation, and some thoughts on what they consider to be future educational directions.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH APPROACH

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the general aspects of the design of the study. Also described will be the processes followed in answering the specific research questions of the study. Further, information relating to perfecting the data collection method will be shared.

General Aspects of the Design of the Study

This part looks at crucial aspects of the design that are common in most qualitative research methodologies. These include the following: the overall approach of the study; building trustworthiness of the study; data collection methods; selection of participants; ethical concerns; and the role of the researcher.

The Overall Approach of the Study

The overall approach of this inquiry is naturalistic. In an attempt to understand the participants' perceptions toward their education in South Africa, an interviewing method was used. During the first interviewing meetings participants were interviewed individually. In the second round of interviews, only participants "C" and "D" were jointly interviewed while the rest of the interviewees were interviewed individually. In addition to being interviewed, participants were asked to respond to some questions in a

written form. However, only "C" and "G" did provide written responses as requested. Participant "C," in addition to the written responses provided one of his class reaction papers because it explored the same issues explored in the study. Participants' reasons for not responding to the mailed questions ranged from being involved in their own school work to forgetfulness. Nonetheless, all questions previously mailed to the respondents were covered during the interview sessions.

Building Trustworthiness of the Study

The study's trustworthiness lies in the fact that naturalistic inquiries are not keen on making generalizations beyond the scope of the participants. However, the findings of this research work might provide a base to work from in the effort to restructure education in South Africa.

Lincoln and Guba (Marshall and Rossman, 1989, p.145), in characterizing this aspect of qualitative inquiry, point out that it seeks to establish the ". . . truth value of the study, its applicability, its consistency, and its neutrality." What is of importance in this study is to find out the "truth" about education in South Africa as interpreted by the participants. No one claims that the study should be neutral. Chances are that both the researcher and the interviewees entered the study with certain views of what comprises the "truth." Thus, bias in perception was not ruled out in this study. This indicates

that people are unique and perceive things differently. To be different does not mean that one should be right or wrong. All it means is that participants' perceptions of education in South Africa vary. It is such differences in perception that made this study authentic, and might help readers to understand the type of education offered in South Africa from different, yet not antagonistic perspectives.

The credibility of the study was also enhanced by cooperative and a collegial working relationship between the researcher and the participants. Personal experience suggests that a relaxed working atmosphere promotes good discussion and that the opposite is true. As interviews were conducted one at a time, only responses relevant to the two research questions were transcribed and shared with participants for review. Only participants "A," "C," "D" and "G" did browse through the transcripts. The aim of letting participants go through their responses was to let them determine whether their responses were well reflected. However, due to certain responsibilities they gave the inquirer the latitude to make the necessary adjustments without worrying about them reviewing the transcripts. They had absolute trust that their responses will not be blown out of proportion. The danger here is that mis-interpretations often occur. The advantage of letting participants review their responses is that additional responses and discussions can be triggered. Extreme caution in reviewing the transcripts was exercised and where necessary clarification

was sought from participants by telephone. After all the data were collected and transcribed, they were analyzed to determine themes. An expert in South African education was also asked to review the responses placed in each theme to determine if those responses belonged to their assigned preliminary themes. After he reviewed the data, we met and further reviewed directions for validating the substance of the themes and for determining final themes. He went through each pile of clippings and explained his observations. In each case he raised legitimate questions which still needed further clarification and others which might be explored in detail after the completion of the study. Generally, our preliminary themes were the same though the wording differed. Working with someone who acts as a judge is helpful in keeping one focused, and Lincoln and Guba explain this exercise in the following manner; "[First],. . . the process helps keep the inquirer "honest," exposing him or her to searching questions by an experienced protagonist doing his or her best to play the devil's advocate. The inquirer's biases are probed, meanings explored, the basis for interpretations clarified. Second, the debriefing provides an initial and searching opportunity to test working hypotheses that may be emerging in the inquirer's mind. Third, the debriefing provides the opportunity to develop and initially test steps in the emerging methodological design. Finally, debriefing sessions provide the inquirer with an opportunity for catharsis, thereby clearing the mind of

emotions and feelings that may be clouding good judgment or preventing emergence of sensible next steps" (1985, p.308).

Further, data were reviewed several times to make sure that there was congruence among the themes, constructs, interpretations of the information, and the two research questions of the study.

All participants were born, raised, and educated in South Africa. Six of the participants worked for several years in South Africa and elsewhere before coming to the United States. Participant "B" had just graduated from college when she came to join her family in the United States. Their first hand experience in the system of apartheid provided more than credibility to the study. They responded from the point of being part of the oppressed masses in South Africa as well as from their exposure in other forms of educational systems. Another important thing that gave this study more validity is that it did not focus on whether responses were true or false, but on the participants' genuine perceptions of the education system in South Africa.

Data Collection Methods

The two main questions embraced in the purpose of the study were instrumental in determining how best to gather relevant data for the study. Semi-structured interviewing was used as a primary method of data collection in this research work. Generally, participants responded to certain

standard questions. These were standard questions in the sense that their essence was the same, though in some instances their wording differed. Though some of these questions were asked to all respondents, their responses varied. Some questions were triggered by participant's responses.

Two interview sessions were conducted with each of the seven participants. Participant "B" withdrew from the study because she felt she had offered enough information during the first meeting. Interviewees were asked to respond to some questions on paper in order to leave ample time for detailed discussion of responses during the first interview.

The meetings varied in length and breaks in between. Initially it was hoped that there would be a two week-break in between sessions but delays in data transcription and the fact that participants had their own pressing responsibilities to attend to, forced a rescheduling of the meetings. Following is a break down of times which elapsed between the first and second meetings. These break downs are:

Participant "A" = four weeks and three days.

Participant "B" = withdrew before the second meeting.

Participant "C" = four weeks and one day.

Participant "D" = four weeks and one day.

Participant "E" = four weeks and one day.

Participant "F" = four weeks and one day.

Participant "G" = four weeks and one day.

This slack in time allowed the researcher to think through the already gathered data, to listen to the first tapes, to do selective transcription of information, and to have time to think about what next steps to take. The second session was a follow up to the first. At this point, clarification to questions previously asked was sought. Other questions were also asked as they emerged.

This data collection method, like any other research method, has its strengths and weaknesses. Marshall and Rossman (1989, pp.82 and 83) sum up these strong and weak points in the following way:

An interview is a useful way to get large amounts of data quickly. When more than one person is used as an informant, the interview process allows for wide variety of information and a large number of subjects. It also allows for immediate follow-up questions and, if necessary for clarification, follow-up interviews may be scheduled at a later date. Combined with observation, interviews allow the researcher to check description against fact. . . . Interviewees may not be willing to share all the information that is needed with the interviewer. The interviewer may not ask appropriate questions because of lack of expertise or familiarity with technical jargon; conversely, the answers to the questions may not be properly comprehended by the interviewer -- or, worse, interviewees may not always be truthful. . . . When interviews are used alone, distortions in data are more likely, as interviewers may interject personal biases.

Selection of Participants

This part of the design looks at how participants of the study were selected. Their selection was purposeful and based on the following criteria. First, participants had to be black; South African; adults; and currently in the United States. The group is composed of three women (participants "B," "D" and "F," and four men (Participants "A," "C," "E" and "G"). The researcher interacted and got acquainted with the participants for some time, enough to make a decision to include them in the study. This interaction and acquaintance came about this way: African students in Massachusetts and other nearby states such as New York, usually hold "get-togethers" to get to know each other and to enhance and make new friendships. Participants "C," "D," "E" and "F" were initially encountered at these "get-togethers," and from time to time we would talk about world politics and other matters. The other two participants ("A" and "G") attended the same university in the United States with the researcher. They are fairly active in, and knowledgeable about political and recreational activities. Participant "B" caught the researcher's awareness through her quietness but eagerness to understand political issues in South Africa.

Second, they had to be aware of political, economic, social, and educational problems plaguing South Africa. Third, participants had to be accessible to the inquirer. For them to be reached easily, they had to be somewhere in the eastern coast of the United States. Finally,

participants had to exhibit some idea about how best to work toward alleviating some of the educational problems in South Africa.

Ethical Concerns

This aspect of the research design addresses two concerns. First, how well informed the participants of the study are about what they are getting themselves into. Second, what the activities of the inquiry are? Participants were informed that two interviewing meetings, about one hour long, will be conducted with each one of them. The purpose of the research, and the steps taken to protect their identities, were reflected in the participant consent form sent to each one of them (see Appendix A). Each participant was assigned a letter of the alphabet as a pseudonym. It was also ensured that their specific place of residence both in South Africa and in the United States were not mentioned in the study. These steps were taken to protect the possibility of participants being identified.

The Role of the Researcher

There are a few aspects that were heeded to in the process of conducting the study. First, it was ensured, ahead of time, that specific dates for conducting interviews were planned and set. Participants had their own responsibilities besides agreeing on taking part in this study, and as such they were notified in advance for any

activities planned so that they could budget their times wisely. Second, in addition to the consent forms sent to them, participants were walked through what was expected to happen during the two interviewing meetings. Third, the researcher served as the facilitator in both sessions to avoid lack of direction. His main role was to tease responses through asking specific questions. Fourth, it was made sure that a suitable and quiet place to conduct interviews was negotiated with interviewees in good time. It was sometimes hard to get an exclusively quiet place for our meetings. Sometimes we experienced more than one disturbance. This was not something anticipated, and the researcher learned to be sensitive and understanding to such problems.

Fifth, the recording equipment was checked in advance to see if it was in good working condition. Sixth, once the sessions were under way, the researcher became an attentive listener and only teased responses through asking appropriate questions. Finally, participants were informed of new developments related to the study.

Specific Research Questions of the Study

This second part of the design looks at some specific questions that will be helpful in understanding participants' objections to their education system in South Africa. In each case, the researcher suggested specific ways of answering those questions.

Research Question 1: What are the perceptions that selected black South African adults in the United States have toward their experiences in the apartheid education system in South Africa?

Following are three steps that were taken to answer the question.

1. Interviews with the Participants

Seven black South African adults who are currently in the United States were interviewed. Two interviews that varied in duration were conducted with the participants. Only one interview was conducted with "B." With the exception of "A," all sessions were conducted at the participants' homes. As previously mentioned it was difficult at times to avoid any disturbances. After the tape recorder was secured and set, participants were briefed about the procedures and what was expected of them. They were informed not to think that their responses were going to be judged on whether they were wrong or right.

Each interviewee was asked to respond in a written form, to three questions related to research question one. Questions that required written responses, were mailed to respondents prior meeting them so that they could gather their thoughts together in preparation for our meeting. The questions were: How best can you explain the structure of education in South Africa to someone who is not familiar with that system of education? How did going through the apartheid education system personally affect you? What would

you say are the advantages and disadvantages of the education system in South Africa?

As said earlier, some participants did not respond to the mailed questions. Responses to those questions were supposed to be reviewed before each interview session could start so that follow up questions to those responses could be made. Close to eighty percent of the questions were prepared in advance to give structure and direction to the meetings. Other questions were triggered by the nature of participants' responses. All oral responses were captured in a tape recorder. After each meeting the tapes were carefully listened to several times to determine which responses best addressed the research questions. Only data that were relevant were recorded on six by four (6 x 4) index cards. Then the information was typed into the computer. After transcripts of the meetings were generated, they were personally handed to the respondents for review only a few minutes before our second meeting could begin. After going through the transcripts of the first meeting, some of the participants decided that the researcher should go ahead with the analysis without consulting them because they found it tedious to review the transcripts. Follow up questions, clarification, and emerging questions were asked during the second interviewing sessions.

Participants were requested to respond orally to all questions when meeting for the second time. Unlike in the first meetings, all responses were audio taped. The meetings

with participants "E," "F," and "G" were canceled and instead telephone interviewing was arranged. This method of interviewing was the most difficult, especially when a person does not have the appropriate equipment. The second meeting with respondents "C," and "D" was a joined session. They were all pressed up with the end of year school work and as such they thought it would be easier to kill two birds with one stone so that they could also have some time to attend to their responsibilities. The same transcription procedure followed for the first interviewing sessions were followed here. Further clarification to certain responses were communicated through telephone.

2. Information Management Procedure

A summary of what this section is about is well put by Marshall and Rossman (1989, p.111). They suggest that researchers, ". . . should devise a system for organizing data to keep track of dates, names, titles, attendance at events, chronologies, descriptions of settings, maps, sociograms and so on is invaluable for piecing together patterns, defining categories for data analysis, planning further data collection, and especially for writing the final product of the research."

A personal folder for each participant was created. Participants' written responses, audio tapes and transcripts were all filed accordingly in their respective folders. A separate file was used to store all the clippings. This data

organization method made it easier when data were being analyzed. Each person was assigned a letter of the alphabet as a nickname. An illustration would be: A 1 (3/15/1993:F), where "A" is the name of the participant; "1" means tape number one that was done on March 15, 1993. "F" stands for First Interview.

3. Information Analysis Procedure

The analysis of data in this study consists of a thematic description of participants' responses. Woven into the description is a careful interpretation of the data.

Normally at this stage all the information would have been gathered, organized accordingly, and ready for analysis. According to Patton (1990, p.372) this is the stage where the researcher has ". . . to make sense of massive amounts of data, reduce the volume of in-formation, identify significant patterns, and construct a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal."

In this study data were analyzed as they were gathered. After conducting the first interviews, the tapes were reviewed until the information started to make some sense. This process continued until all interviews were completed, and data transcribed. Specifically, transcripts were reviewed and responses were clustered into preliminary themes. An expert in the South African education was asked to review the responses placed in each theme to determine if those responses belonged to their assigned themes. After he

reviewed the data, we met and further reviewed directions for validating the substance of the themes and for determining final themes.

After this process was exhausted, data which did not seem to fit in any theme were saved for possible application in other projects. The content of the excluded responses, though important, did not address the two research questions. The study also considered how other educators perceived apartheid education in South Africa or in any place still plagued by unequal education. Their views were reviewed in the literature section.

In brief, Marshall and Rossman's (1989, p.118) five analytic modes were used to help the researcher analyze data with relative ease. These modes are: organizing the data; generating [themes]; testing emergent hypotheses against the data; searching for alternative explanations to determine which information go with the apparent theme or category; and writing the report.

Research Question 2: What are the recommendations of selected black South African adults in the United States for improving the education system for children and youth in South Africa?

The same process followed to answer question one was followed in answering this question. This question and other related sub-questions were covered during the first part of the interviews. Responses were orally presented and audio

taped. Recommendation related questions, were asked toward the end of each session. Three questions related to the major research question were sent to participants by mail long before meeting them for the first interview sessions. These are: First, what are the three most important suggestions you think, if implemented, might improve the system of education in South Africa? Second, if you had the authority to make any educational changes in South Africa, where would you focus your energy? Finally, what type of education do you think would be more acceptable to all South Africans?

Unlike in research question one, respondents were not required to provide written responses to these questions. The reason for sending them in advance was to give them ample time to reflect on their education system and to help them anticipate other related questions. The same data management and data analysis procedures followed for tackling research question one were followed here.

Field Testing of the Data Collection Method

This part of the design was meant for testing the research instrument which was going to be used in the study. All concerns relating to the main research procedure were addressed at this stage of the study. A black South African adult helped with field testing the data collection method. Like the other participants, he was introduced by friends at

one of the African "get-togethers." The same criteria used for selecting the other respondents, were applicable to him. He was requested to help with field testing the data gathering method the same way the seven study participants have been requested.

A simulated setting at the interviewee's home and at his work place was set. Prior to our meeting, he was sent six questions to respond to as well as to reflect on. The idea of sending some of these questions before the scheduled session was to help the respondent anticipate other related questions and to get organized for the meeting. The written responses were sent to the researcher a few days after the first meeting.

The essence of this pilot study was to determine if there was further work needed to perfect the data collection method used in the study. It was also to help the researcher clarify and perfect the study for readability, to add credence to the interview method as a data collection tool and to the study as a whole, and that the study should be seen as a good piece of work that can be helpful to people. Equally important was the fact that conducting field study helped sharpen the researcher's skills. This exercise helped prevent disaster long before it could strike.

How was the pilot study conducted? Two interview meetings and each about an hour long were conducted with the participant. The respondent was expected to answer certain questions on paper and others orally. The session was audio

taped. Key points were written down as they were suggested by the participant. The respondent was periodically asked how questions were being asked, the clarity and the logic of questions, and the atmosphere of the meeting. Some of the problem areas included hesitancy to ask questions and immediate followups to previously raised questions. The participant frequently asked that some questions be repeated. That indicated lack of clarity in the way some of these questions were asked. One other suggestion was to stay with one question until it was fully exhausted. After listening to the tapes and reviewing the notes, another meeting with the participant was scheduled and it was meant to ensure that the problem areas previously identified were brought under control. Conducting the pilot study helped the researcher sharpen his interviewing skills. Blunders which would have been made in the main research work were avoided during this stage of the work.

This chapter looked at different procedures that were followed to answer the two research questions. The following chapter focuses on the presentation and interpretation of the participants' responses regarding their opinions about education in South Africa.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

This chapter presents and analyzes the data gathered about perceptions of selected South Africans toward practices of apartheid education in South Africa. These data are collected from seven black South African adults who are currently in the United States. Two broad questions guided the study. They are:

1. What are the perceptions that selected black South African adults in the United States have toward their experiences in the apartheid education system in South Africa?

2. What are the recommendations of selected black South African adults in the United States for improving the education system for children and youth in South Africa?

Specific questions related to the two broad questions were asked to all participants. After all data were collected and transcribed, they were analyzed to determine themes. An expert in South African education was asked to review the responses placed in each theme to determine if those responses belonged to their assigned preliminary themes. Subsequent to the data review we met and reviewed directions for validating the substance of the themes.

Before the participants' responses could be presented, a short profile about them might help the reader better

understand the participants' perceptions about education in South Africa.

A Brief Profile of the Respondents

All participants are black and South African.

Participant "B," is apparently in the thirties, based upon a recollection of our previous conversations. Prior to joining her family in the United States, she was a physical therapy student at a black medical university in South Africa.

Respondents "D" and "F" are forty one and between thirty five and forty respectively. The remaining four respondents ("A," "C," "E," and "G") are all males and thirty six, forty two, thirty six and thirty eight respectively.

"D" arrived in the United States in Summer 1991 on sponsorship to study for a Master of Education in English as a Second Language. She had recently returned to South Africa to resume her teaching responsibilities. Prior to coming to the United States she taught in an all black high school for eight years and later at a teachers' college for at least four and one half years.

Participant "F" left South Africa in the mid seventies for political reasons, and that was before finishing her high school diploma. She has been to several South African neighbouring states but finally settled in Tanzania in 1986 where she completed her high school certificate and enrolled for a diploma in Social Welfare in one of the local tertiary institutions. In 1989 after completing her diploma she was

awarded a scholarship to study in the United States where she just recently obtained a Human Services degree.

"A" was a high school teacher for several years before becoming a high school principal in one of the homelands. He later became an inspector of schools and shortly afterwards he got a post in one of the black colleges as an African Studies head of department. He then came to the United States in Fall 1988 on a Fulbright scholarship to study for a Master of Education in Assessment and Measurement. He is currently completing a Doctor of Education in the same area.

"C" was a high school teacher for five years before coming to the United States in July 1992 on personal funds. He is currently finishing a Master of Education degree in the north eastern coast of the United States.

Interviewee "E" like "F" left South Africa in 1976 for political reasons. He has been to Swaziland, Botswana, Tanzania, Egypt, China, Cyprus, Greece and he is currently in the United States where he just finished a master's degree in Human Services. In Egypt he did a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, and completed a Master of Arts in Urban Sociology in Tanzania.

Participant "G" arrived in the United States during Fall 1990 on an Educational Opportunities Council Scholarship to do a Master of Science in Labour Studies. He is currently doing an internship on the eastern coast of the United States.

Following are the main ideas that were common to the participants' perceptions toward education in South Africa. The responses are related to the two research questions of the study.

Research Question 1: What are the perceptions that selected black South African adults in the United States have toward their experiences in the apartheid education system in South Africa?

The following responses relate to this question and others that gave direction to this study. The responses are presented thematically.

Separate Development in South Africa

This theme echoes the philosophy of life of the dominant white government in South Africa. According to the participants, the separate development idea is a direct result of the country's active racist policies. In other words, separate development appears to be an offshoot of the apartheid political system -- hence the assertion that it has to conform to the political structure of the country. This philosophy of separate development seems to perpetuate inequalities in varied forms in South Africa. Exactly how these inequalities are fostered is evident in the educational structure of the country.

Concerns about the Educational Structure

Emphasis here is on the fact that education in the participants' home country rests on separatist policies, suggesting that Blacks, the so-called Indians, the so-called Coloureds and Whites are under no circumstance supposed to intermingle, let alone attend the same schools. As a result of this separatist mentality, the education system was structured in such a way that it conforms to, and perpetuates the intent of apartheid.

According to participant "A," "The South African education is based on certain assumptions. . . and the basic premise of its education system is that it has to conform to the grand political design. So we kind of have four different kinds of education systems in South Africa. Though it can be conceived as four different parts, you can kind of, you know, group it together and then you have a bigger division within the division. . . [where it is evident that] the Whites become the privileged group. . . and [their education] is supposed to be an elite education system. . . . Then you have the Coloureds who are closer to the white South Africans -- then they occupy, kind of, second rank. . . . And again the objectives for the education system are kind of designed in accordance with that rank. So you have an elite education system for Whites, followed by kind of semi-elite education system for the Coloureds and then for the Indians, and then for the Blacks. Really what I am talking about is

that we have different systems because in each system there are different political objectives."

Participant "C" in characterizing education in South Africa indicates that it ". . . has been structured to meet the needs of apartheid. He feels that ". . . it reflects, supports and legitimates the ethnically based stratification system. . . , perpetuates the subordinate position of the African population . . . [and also elevates] the Afrikaner nation. . . . It's polarized according to the South African politics or society which is Black and White. In other words, you have a department of education for the white people, you have a department of education for Africans, for people of mixed races who are called Coloureds, then you have an education department for people of Asian origin. You have what is called homelands, which are some areas cupped out by the government and they also have their own education departments."

According to respondent "G," there are at least seventeen or nineteen departments of education in South Africa. He further points out that within the other population groups other than Whites, there is ". . . still stratification because the architects of the system wanted to maintain the various classes. . . . The system was designed to entrench white supremacy and black people had to be foot soldiers for the system. We had to be the so-called hewers of wood and drawers of water. It's a form and system of education based on racial, sexist and xenophobic ideology.

It is a way of controlling the hearts and minds of indigenous inhabitants of the country and it perpetuates white supremacy. As such it uses Christianity to entrench allegiance and to establish authority to a higher being. . . . [Generally] I will say it is divided according to the population groups because what you get from the white school you cannot get from the black school." So far, one can see congruence regarding responses by "A," "C," and "G." Respondent "A" talks about a "bigger division within the division," and reference here seems to be what the other two participants term "ethnically based stratification system" of education. That is, within the black population one still finds that different ethnic groups attend separate schools. An example would be an instance where Zulu students, for example, are denied access in Northern Sotho schools due to the language they speak or simply because of ethnic stereotypes. Such ethnic divisions create endless enmity among people. As such, participants blame the apartheid system for all these and other related problems.

Participant "E" says that "Apartheid, specifically apartheid education, emerged to serve a specific kind of social development in South Africa. It serves the interests of white people. It has also been concerned with white social welfare on one hand and on the other hand with black labour." Adding to what everybody has said about how they see education in South Africa is interviewee "D" who re-emphasizes that ". . . our education system in South Africa

is segregated along racial lines -- for Whites, for Indians, then Coloureds, and for Africans. The latter is further subdivided into over fifteen education departments including education in the homelands or self-governing states." Of concern to the participants is the idea of partitioning people, and the inequalities accompanying that racial separation because the implication is that some people have to be over provided and others under provided, depending on their skin colour.

Earlier, it was indicated that the idea of separate development in South Africa perpetuates racial inequalities and these inequalities are reflected in the country's education system. Apparent from the data is that respondents also talk about inequalities in terms of educational expenditure.

Inequalities in Educational Expenditure

There are certain glaring differences in terms of how money is appropriated to the different population groups in South Africa. "A" sheds some light into how funds are being appropriated among the different education departments; ". . . so even when moneys are being appropriated or budgeted or subsidies are made, they kind of follow that kind of pattern [rank order]. The Whites are the ones who decide how much Blacks are supposed to get because they are the ones who draw the budget."

Participant "G" reached the same conclusion as "A," that ". . . the so-called Bantu educations are all financially at the bottom as far as facilities and standards are concerned. Everything is the best or down there." "D" also observed that the educational funding characterized by both participants "G" and "A" are real. Participant "C" re-emphasizes the point that "The money allocated to the Department of Education and Training for Blacks is a small amount compared to that of Whites, Indians and Coloureds. The money allocated to Whites is more, then follows that of the Indians which is lower than that of Whites but above that of the Coloureds and Blacks. The next after the Indians are the Coloureds and after the Coloureds are Blacks. Blacks are way back there. Whites are being subsidized in all respects. With Blacks, there is nothing like that. There is no question of being subsidized, even for teachers' transport. White teachers are heavily subsidized. They are all financed by the same government but everything is racially based."

The question of who comes first in terms of the rank order between the so-called Indians and Coloureds seems to be a matter of discrepancy among the respondents. Some think the former are ranked number two after the Whites while others think the opposite holds. Perhaps a closer look at how educational facilities are distributed across the races (Appendix B) might give the reader a glimpse of the educational inequalities in South Africa, and on who gets preferential treatment. Of importance is not so much who

comes after who as to the glaring imbalances in the Rand amount spent per child across the different population groups.

Respondent "D" says she knows ". . . for a fact that white kids, get more than what a Black child is getting, more than double, even three times the amount that a black child receives. They get more than three times the amount that's spent on a Black child." The disparities in funding seem to pain the participants more because of the fact that black students' lives become tremendously affected by these educational inequalities. Lack of money to buy books and other school necessities may encourage students to drop out of school and ultimately face the uncertain future job market.

Another glaring inequality noticeable among the different education departments in South Africa relates to disparities in terms of educational facilities.

Inequalities in Educational Facilities

When explaining the education they went through, respondents point out some overt imbalances in educational necessities that they assert affect the quality of black education. Thinking retrospectively about what their education in South Africa was like, here's what they have to say about deficiencies in their schools. Participant "E" says, "First, black students in South Africa have to pay fees and at the same time their fees are high. Black students

have to buy books on top of paying the fees. They have to buy books. We have also to consider the fact that their parents -- the people who are supposed to be buying the books and paying the fees for them, are in most cases in the low socio-economic, you know, level. So they are not even able to do that."

"D" reports that black schools ". . . don't have any recreational facilities for [their] students. There are no books. The books that [they] have are most of the time not enough." "B" adds, ". . . we don't have the material things to use in our classrooms or when doing our experiments." Then "F" adds another perspective, "They [Whites] are getting these type of services free. [Blacks] cannot go forward because they are not privileged to certain things. For instance, if you have students who are taking science, that becomes a problem because there are no laboratories in black schools, let alone other necessary facilities. We [Blacks] don't even have libraries." What concerns the participants, as "D" says, is that " In other schools there is a drastic shortage of schools. We have schools that have a shortage of teachers as well. The teacher - pupil ratio is also a matter of concern. I was never in a library until I went to university. We don't have libraries. We don't have laboratories in our schools. Everything is taught theoretically. When I was teaching biology, I remember taking my students to the laboratory only because we were going to use microscopes there. We don't have any

recreational facilities for our students. There are no sufficient books in black schools."

Participants seem to be legitimately concerned with what their education system does to black students because the high fees paid by these students strain the already low income parents and guardians. The insufficiency of books is reported to be tremendously affecting students' learning. Again, respondents report that the obvious unavailability of laboratories and other crucial necessities encourages teachers to resort to theoretical teaching at the expense of making learning a meaningful and practical experience. All these things put together appear to kill the learning spirit in students. Students often fail to associate the concepts learned in school with reality. Once there is a noticeable gap between what is learned in class and what goes on in the outside world, students lose interest in their studies and some of them eventually drop out of school. Feelings of incapability and stupidity encroach them and kill their motivation to learn. In the sciences, for example, lack of laboratories adds difficulty to the already labelled difficult and impossible to obtain subjects. Generally, scarcity of facilities seems to tremendously affect the quality of education in African schools.

Discourse on the Quality of Education

Participants are fully convinced that education in South Africa is dictated by the racist policies of the country.

Participant "A" stresses that education in his country is not encouraging because ". . . really it speaks to the nature of the policies, speaks to the nature of the aim, speaks to the nature of the political philosophy of the country. Really if we talk about the quality of black education, there is only one word for it, and that is, it's bad or poor. It's different and poor and difficult." Respondent "G" does not see any value in apartheid education. He states that "It stinks. It doesn't compare at all with any of the other education departments. It emphasizes rote learning. The teachers as I said are unqualified or not adequately qualified. It involves much abstract thinking than anything else. So, the quality of education leaves much to be desired." What is evident is that there seems to be a relationship between the quality of education in South Africa, particularly black education, and how education is being financed in that country, the availability or lack of educational facilities, and teachers' qualifications, to cite only a few examples.

Respondent "E" seems to object to the unequal apartheid education in South Africa because of its long term life impact on people. He says, "I don't know if we have even standards. I think we have a sub-standard education. The education system does not fully prepare us for higher education. Unfortunately most of our parents are not even in the position to help. What you cannot get at school you cannot get at home. With white students, the parents do

supplement what the children get from school." Earlier, "A" stated that education in his country is hierarchical, and participant "E" builds on that statement. "E" continues to say that ". . . hovering in between are the Coloureds and Indians respectively. Their education suffers the same way education for Blacks suffer. At least the education for the Coloureds and the Indian is by far better than that for Blacks because education in South Africa is based on skin pigmentation. The whiter you are the fuller education you get. The blacker you are the more hopeless education you get." On the same note, "G" says, "It's not as good as the so-called or white education system. Compared to Bantu education, one can say the education system for Coloureds and Asians is in between. Even in this case, the quality of education for Blacks is still, you know, below that of the latter. The quality of education for Coloureds and Asians is not good at all but comparatively speaking it will rate better than that for black people."

Respondent "B" addresses the issue thus, ". . . but from my point of view Blacks get inferior education. Obviously the fact that the Whites are getting the most funding speaks to the good quality of education they get." The quality of education for Blacks is very poor. It's poor in the sense that the teachers who taught us are also a product of the apartheid education system and that they have been taught by poor quality teachers. So, obviously the products thereof are going to be poor. If you compare both Blacks' and Whites'

matric results one can see a vast difference. The educational products of Blacks are way below that of the other population groups."

The separatist policies that are yielding unequal funding and a dearth of educational facilities in black schools seem to affect the quality of black education as shown by participants' responses. The education for black people is characterized in the following adjectives: difficult, poor, different and stink[ing]. The truth is that the quality of education in South Africa seems to be depending on how people are racially ranked. This means that the closer to Whites one is, the better one's education becomes, and the farther away one is to the latter's education, the worse education one receives. It seems as if the government is sowing an air of enmity and divisiveness among the population groups by advocating for an unequal education system. The result is that when the races look at each other they become filled with rage, contempt and condescension for each other. What complicates matters even worse is that most black students do not have any support groups at school and at home. Parents are unable to help their children about school related matters because of numerous hindrances. At school teachers are swarmed with work and rush to complete the prescribed syllabi.

On talking about the quality of education in the homelands and in the metropolitan areas, "A" has the following to say, "In South Africa it doesn't matter where

you live. If you are Black, the system of education you get is literally the same in terms of the training of teachers, in terms of the training of students, in terms of funding, in terms of teachers' salaries, and in terms of the conditions of service. All these black departments of education are just the same." "G" reaches the same conclusion that "These two areas [rural and urban] follow the same structure of education and their pay levels and the quality of teaching is the same. If one had to put them on a plane of one to four (1-4), they would be at the bottom level." Participant "C" thinks that the quality of education in the urban areas is low. He also thinks that the "Failure rate is high in urban areas compared to the high passing rate in the rural areas." Contrary to participant "C's" assertion, respondent "A" thinks the opposite is true.

Participants also seem to be concerned about how the curriculum in their schools is structured.

Skewed Curriculum

Respondent "E" is particularly concerned about the way the curriculum in black schools is skewed to meet certain political expectations. He explains; "We have also on the other hand those problems which are related to the content of the subject matter. Black education is basically an abridged version of white education. It has a number of gaps, be it in mathematics or any other subject. There are a number of omissions and distortions." Respondent "C" reports that

curriculum across the different racial groups is not the same. He sees white education as being easier than education for Blacks because "The idea is to discourage and to fail black students so that they can leave school and look for low paying jobs." It would seem that the participants in the study see some connection between the way the curriculum in black schools, in particular, is structured and the country's labour needs. As "A" indicated, maybe the reason for producing so many Blacks for the labour market can be seen in line with the "useless subjects" offered to black students so that they should end up performing "useless" jobs.

What one often hears some black people, especially educators, say is that the curricula structure in black schools is not challenging, that it encourages rote learning, that it is examination oriented and does not promote good thinking skills in students. This fact is evidenced by the way participants think they have been affected by apartheid and apartheid education. It is also felt that apartheid education has too many loopholes, that it disfigures and excludes certain information, especially information pertaining to Blacks. There is also a feeling that education for Blacks is made to look so inferior in order to fill the menial job openings, and as respondents say, this might be seen against the "useless subjects" offered in black schools.

Apparent from the participants' responses is the general feeling that black people are victims of a system of education they have no control over.

Imbalances in the Control of Education

The general and recurring sense that emerged from talking with the respondents is that the overall control of all educational facets in their country is in the hands of the white government. Though the other population groups (Blacks, Coloureds and Indians) have their own education departments, they all seem to have a minimal control of their educational destiny. The group that seems to be hard hit is the black community because they have no representation in parliament. That might be a clear indication that they are the subjects of the white power structure. Earlier, when talking about education for the black population, participants pointed out that education within this community is divided into rural (serving Blacks in the homelands) and urban (serving Blacks in the so-called white designated areas). Though the homelands are recognized as independent by the government, in reality they are not because they still rely on South Africa for many things. Following is what each participant says about how education in South Africa is being controlled.

Looking at the per capita expenditure among black, white, Indian and Coloured students, one gets hit by the obvious disparities among these groups. It therefore seems obvious that whoever has the money calls the shots -- decides the fate of everybody else. A similar observation is made by "E" who so eloquently points out that what is unfair about apartheid education is that at the local level black

administrators do the same job done by their white colleagues but the irony is that they (black administrators) do not possess as much power and authority as their white colleagues. Thus the participants' conclusion is that the system has been structured to deliberately exclude Blacks from any crucial decision making.

Participant "A" sees a connection between the educational control and the financial muscle of the Whites in the following manner; "People who control education in the country are white because they are the ones in leadership positions. They are the ones who control the capital, who control the economy and thus control the destiny of the country. They control the education of the rest of the groups and also control the education of Blacks." What he is referring to is the control of education at the state level. Participant "E" says, "In terms of who runs the education, the powers that be are definitely in the hands of the government. At the same time there are certain minimum powers within the black community, within the Coloured community and within the Indian community. First, we have black teachers, we have black superintendents -- those people who are supposedly doing the same things that white superintendents and white teachers are doing for white students, and what Indian superintendents and Indian teachers are doing for Indian students. In essence they don't have the power. I think that is where the critical difference lies -- that the type of education that they are offering is

not the education they designed." Adding to "E's" words is "C" who also says that the whole educational structure is white ". . . until you come to the level of inspectors -- those who go to school to go and see whether the work is being carried out." According to "D" black people in particular ". . . do not play any significant role in their education. In fact, I would say they don't play any role at all as far as I know. Not in deciding what kind of education they would like for their children. They don't play any part in the planning of the curriculum. They are not even considered when curriculum decisions are being made."

Interviewee "B" speaks to the rigidity of the educational structure in that ". . . even if they want to change the education system they cannot because it's structured rigidly and in rank order. The black people have not been having a big role in controlling their education system." Participant "D's" outcry is that black teachers do not have any say in what they teach in their schools. Apparently they are ". . . just being given books by the department regardless of whether we feel those books are appropriate for our students or not." "G" says that to his knowledge ". . . there is very little input by black parents relating to the education of their children except maybe for Whites. Things in the country seem to be following the British model which is very authoritarian. Contributions by parents and by the community are kept to a minimum maybe just as far as administration is concerned. There is no

involvement whatsoever by the parents in the education of their children, whether in the so-called white areas or in the homelands." Generally, participants feel that the role played by Blacks in the control and management of their education is symbolic.

Respondents also explained that growing up and attending exclusively segregated schools in South Africa has affected them in so many ways.

The Effect of Apartheid Education on the Respondents

When talking with the participants, it was apparent that they were affected by apartheid in similar ways, though some differences were noticeable. It was also clear that the effects of this system of education followed them beyond the bounds of South Africa. Some of the participants express, though in different ways, experiencing anxiety in executing their daily activities or their school work. They report that the first thing that crosses their minds if they have to do certain things, especially in the presence of Whites, is how deficient they are. Participant "A" in particular, reports that he felt anxious even before coming to the United States. He specifically says, "My anxiety level rose and hit the roof. I occasionally asked myself, am I going to be able to compete effectively? Not only did I question myself on the basis of being in this country [United States], I also questioned myself even before I came into this country. I would often tell myself that where I am going I know it is white, will I be adequate enough, will I be capable enough?"

This response shows the detrimental effects of being subjugated and drilled on how inferior one is compared to the other population groups. This internalized attitude toward the self is thought to be transferred to other situations and can be a real life time stumbling block on people's progress. Participant "A" continues to say that "The fact that I come from the point of view that says that you are not adequate, you are stupid, you are inferior, I always question and doubt myself."

One important point he mentions is the feeling of anxiety that seems to crop up when he is supposed to get in contact with other races, particularly Whites. The latter thought arouses certain negative feelings in him. On the contrary "A" indicates that being with one's own people does not appear to have any complications. More specifically he states that ". . . if you move from one black environment to another black environment you do not question these stuff. You don't question whether you are adequate or not. You don't question your intelligence. Once you say you are going to visit the University of Pretoria [an all white institution of higher learning] you start questioning yourself so much. These are some of the questions I asked myself when I came to the [United States]."

Participant "F" expresses how she felt so uneasy attending the same school and being in the same class with people other than her own. She states, "When I came to America to study, I looked at the students I was in the same

class with, more especially American students, and I became afraid sometimes to even contribute in class because, you know, if you are black, people think you don't have much brains like Whites do. So, if I wanted to say something they would look at me like I was a stupid person."

Respondent "B" in pointing out the effects of apartheid and apartheid education on her, says that the problem became extremely pronounced when she left South Africa for the United States. She indicates that, "You probably won't be able to feel it much until you leave the country. It makes you feel inadequate, it makes you feel inferior, it makes you feel afraid to take the position of being maybe a leader so to speak. You know, that feeling of being inadequate. If you are giving a lecture, you know, there's that feeling that, I'm not good enough. Again like I'm saying maybe if we had education at an equal basis maybe it will be a different thing. But there's always that feeling that, am I adequate enough?"

Apartheid and apartheid education in South Africa create in some people a sense of envy. These two concepts are also connected with numerous social problems prevalent in the country. Respondent "F" has the following to say about the apartheid system as a whole; "I feel that it has left a scar on me because I always share the way I grew up in South Africa with my colleagues at work. You sort of envy the white person because a white person gets everything. White children go to school wearing nice uniforms. They have

books. They have everything." As indicated above, some respondents feel that apartheid in all its forms, is responsible for certain societal problems and on that note "F" continues to say that "It has produced thieves and criminals because if people were given the same opportunity, everybody was going to be self reliant."

There is a general feeling that participants have to validate themselves in terms of white people's expectations. This seemed to be a heavy burden on the shoulders of the respondents. "F" also feels that the education in South Africa is structured in a way that its effects are felt beyond the school environment. Only a handful of Blacks attend school in South Africa and of that number only a few matriculate from high school, which means that the little education that they get enables them to get low paying jobs. This way apartheid's intent of keeping Blacks in low paying jobs becomes a reality. "F" further explains that ". . . if you don't have better education you do not get a better job. Therefore, you will be forced to take what you are given, whether you like it or not."

Participant "E," explains that the type of education he received in South Africa [before he left the country in 1976] killed the learning spirit in him and in other black students. He relates; "I remember very well that I would go to school without any spending money. My retention of the subject matter, you know, decreased with time. I would start in the morning with vigor, with oomph. As time went by, I

would start to feel hungry and at the same time have nothing to do with listening to the teacher. All you want to do is just go home because you are tired." Here, "E" provides another example of how apartheid inequalities and unequal treatment take a great toll on people. As the participant says, lack of certain basic educational necessities can affect one's attention span in class and motivation in learning. As "B" indicated, the effects of this system are felt more when one gets out of the country. "E" states that the effects of the apartheid system on him seriously surfaced at a later time. He relates that ". . . the effects of the apartheid education system came later on when I was attending school. As a mature and conscious student I had to work so hard to make up for the things that I couldn't do whilst still in South Africa. Bantu education never teaches black people critical thinking or radical approaches to learning. So, as one grows up one tends to lack in critical thinking, something which Bantu education has deprived me. I mean by the time you reach university level you are supposed to be polishing on what you have learnt from the beginning. But for me, I had to start with this at the university level." Here the respondent seems to be in agreement with the conclusions and observations made by Tabata, 1960; Freire, 1974; and Christie, 1986 in their different works on education for the oppressed both in South Africa and in Brazil. On commenting about how the unequal education system in South Africa affects Blacks even beyond the school level,

he emphasizes that "Bantu education destroys the individual. The type of education being offered in South Africa doesn't prepare anyone for life after school. So if you go outside South Africa you have a number of problems. The South African education doesn't prepare you for the future. It does not empower anyone." Still on the general impact of apartheid on black South Africans participant "D" also shares her opinion by indicating ". . . that our education system does not prepare us to compete, you know, on an equal basis with our white counterparts. Our education system is meant to provide, you know, for the needs of the industry. It merely prepares one to serve the white people in the industries. It doesn't provide us with skills for survival. It keeps us subservient all the time."

What seems to make apartheid education more objectionable is that respondents complain about the lack of guidance in black schools, something that they think, inconveniences and thwarts students' chances to follow concentrations of their own interest. Respondent "D" says that she is currently ". . . a teacher not because I intended to be a teacher in the first place. I became one eventually because I had no vocational guidance, you know, in school. I wanted to be a dietitian but when I applied I was told that I would have to apply to the Minister of Interior so that I would be able to go to the University of Natal."

Education in South Africa promotes helplessness and demotivates some people, specifically the black community,

because some of them feel that it is impossible to escape from that oppressive and unequal system.

As interviewees attest, they do realize the apartheid education problem but unfortunately they think there is nothing they can do to remedy the situation. Knowingly teaching students this "useless" education makes some educators feel guilty about what they are doing. Participant "D" explains her observation and experiences regarding the issue; "The morale of educators is very low. Generally, it is very low and what makes it even worse is the fact that we feel that there is very little we can do to change the situation. The whole thing creates a feeling of helplessness because sometimes we feel we are the perpetrators of the system and in many cases that's how the children see us. We are aware that what we are doing is wrong but we do it because we feel helpless. There is a guilty feeling on the part of the educator. Do I also feel guilty? Oh yes, I'm talking from personal experience. We go to class every day and well, you know, we are not really delivering the goods, you know. Like I said earlier, I once taught Biology in high school and I felt guilty about the fact that I was standing in front of the kids and theoretically teaching them about a stem. But if there are no facilities in the lab, you know, to go about cutting the stem and having the kids see the different parts of the stem and see what you are talking about, that makes you feel guilty because you will be doing things theoretically."

Participants seem to reject their education because they feel it confuses and makes them doubt their capabilities, and promotes a sense of inadequacy in them. "D" puts this matter in a proper perspective; "Definitely there are responsibilities and things I feel I can't do, you know, despite the fact that I have reached the academic level that I'm at right now. As a language teacher, language itself has been a real problem to me. When we have discussions in class [referring to her educational experiences in the United States] I would have facts but because of the language, the inability to communicate, you know, the lack of vocabulary skills and things like that, I wouldn't be able to express myself the way I would have wanted to. The fact that I lack adequate language skills has made me feel somehow inadequate."

Respondent "F" though generalizing, disapproves of education for Blacks in South Africa because ". . . the type of education we get is very limited. It limits you to a certain extent. So, people who have different interests in other areas or who might do better in other areas of interest might not have the chance because they do not have supporting facilities." The point here is that apartheid education limits people's interests in a manner that aligns itself with the aims of the apartheid policies. This system of education provoked many feelings in participant "A." He responds, "I was feeling heart broken because black people just like any other person who wants to survive, who wants a better life

for themselves cannot get that life. Apart from feeling heart broken I feel angry that we have been given a raw deal. First of all, they [Whites] throw stereotypes at us. They are giving us all kinds of descriptions that we don't deserve, and really descriptions that are meant to push us back, descriptions that are meant to exclude us." He feels that the system is libelous and portrays black people in a way that is detestable and reinforces stereotypes about them.

Participant "G" relates his experiences of going through the system of apartheid education. He says, "I was conditioned and made to believe that my life chances and opportunities were in the hands of a white man or person and I had to be happy with that. It taught me to distrust my race and ridicule and scorn my language [dubbed a dialect], my culture, and hero-worship authority. Above all, I doubted my capacities, capabilities and competencies in life. This system of education has also inculcated in me hatred and feelings of bitterness against the Western civilization." So far it is apparent that participants do not like apartheid education for certain fundamental reasons. Apart from being personally affected by apartheid education in his country, participant "G" highlights the dangers of this education system as he sees them on a broader scale. He explains that he doesn't and ". . . did not find anything beneficial about Bantu education."

Data indicate that the architects of this system intended to keep people other than Whites subjugated in order

to serve white institutions. Based on the different testimonies about education for Blacks in South Africa, respondents unanimously agree that this type of education is a waste of both material and personnel. According to "G," the people who receive this education usually ". . . rely on other communities and nations for products and services that would improve their quality of life and standards of living for some considerable time in future." He also condemns Bantu education for instilling a sense of inferiority in him. He charges that "It did nothing to build my self-esteem. All the time I had to know my place. In other words, it just reinforced my inferiority complex. So, whatever you do you had to emulate Whites. Besides, this education is very abstract. It doesn't relate to my real life. We were never taught problem solving techniques, you know, to the extent whereby I carried that into my adult life -- knowing that the white man was superior and, you know, that whatever he did there was no competition. By that I mean, you know, the syllabi and the system as such didn't offer one quality education that sharpened one's abilities to think politically and to think abstractly. I felt the effect of this system of education at the critical age of my life, during my adolescence. The baggage was carried over into my tertiary school level. And yes it still bothers me now."

Participant "A" also says apartheid in all its ramifications makes him look down upon himself and that it causes him personality problems. He characterizes this

system of education as very evil and that its intent is only to dehumanize people. Generally, he believes he is ". . . going to live with this thing for the rest of my life. I am saying this out frustration because it's as if you have two personalities. One personality is the personality that is looking after your image -- how people perceive you. This provides you with a distorted picture of who you really are. When I came to this country [United States] for the first time, I knew, in spite of all my efforts of identifying what the system is and identifying some of the problems that the system had, of identifying all the kinds of socializations that I went through. I knew that there are certain things that are in my sub-conscious mind. I am naturally an anxious person and not succeeding in my activities puts pressure on me. I feel that if I don't succeed I am not intelligent. So, I did an introspection through taking courses that will help me realize who I am."

Regardless of his high academic status, participant "A" is still haunted by the ghost of apartheid wherever he is or whatever he is involved in. He continues; "Yes, I would say I am a doctor but I am a black doctor. When I play golf and I am at the "Tee" and surrounded by all these white folks, I feel a certain pressure. In nine out of ten cases, I end up doing something that I am not supposed to do. I end up doing something very stupid because of the presence of these white guys in front of me. I was never brought up to think that white folks are just as human beings like me. I may not

admit it or may not want to admit it in public but if you would ask me that question any time in my relaxed mood, I would say there is no difference between Whites and Blacks. When I do an introspection I do realize that I am lying to myself. The fact is that, there are certain feelings that come to you completely involuntarily and this is what I mean by the legacy of apartheid. I felt frustrated. I can tell you, every person who grew up in South Africa cannot honestly tell me that she or he is free from any apartheid effects. I think those people who claim that they are free from any apartheid's after effects are really in a state of denial. We are all on different levels of this impact but it's there with us. It's just that the more educated we are, the more we rationalize ourselves out of it because we can now hide behind big words."

It is clearer that apartheid in its different forms has affected the participants in so many ways. It instilled low self-esteem, a sense of inadequacy and helplessness in them. Fortunately, the participants went on to higher education but there might be other people who may have been even more injured by this system of education in South Africa. Based on what they had to endure under apartheid education, participants strongly feel that the system has severely hindered their progress in life and should be eliminated in its entirety.

Respondents acknowledge that apartheid education has affected them in several ways but the greatest achievement of

all is that they were able to cope in those trying moments of their lives.

Respondents' Coping Mechanisms

Throughout the meetings, one thing that emerged and was emphasized by all participants was that despite the hardships and inconveniences of apartheid on them, they and many other black people managed and still manage to succeed academically and otherwise. Though this might not have been an overwhelming success, the fact is that some of them were never relentless in swimming against the ebbing and deadly tides of apartheid. The respondents demonstrated their own unique coping mechanisms against the intent of apartheid and apartheid education. Apparent from their responses is that apartheid produces numerous unintended results and that it spurs some Blacks to work even harder in thwarting such malicious intents. As it will become evident later on, the road they traveled in offsetting apartheid education's intent on them was very rocky. Some had to leave the country for fear of possible incarceration or death under the South African security forces. Others had to change, out of no choice, areas of academic interests because the colour of their skin disqualified them from pursuing certain careers, else they had to go through bureaucratic application processes.

Following are excerpts of how participants coped in the apartheid education system. Participants do acknowledge that

they had no suspicions, in their formative years, about their education system or about the apartheid system as a whole. They were aware of certain stark physical and material differences among the South African population groups but were never able to decode those disparities. They thought, out of naivety, that everything was exactly how it should be or how God meant it to be. It was during their post primary school experiences that those puzzles began making sense. As a result some of the interviewees resorted to passive resistance such as seriously concentrating in their school work. Others sought other ways of survival. Generally, they all demonstrated endurance, dedication to doing better and being better people some day, and the hope that the system will one day be defeated and that justice will ultimately prevail.

Participant "A" explains the situation thus; "I guess I am what I am today because in my quest to get some of the questions answered [inferiority inadequacy, and so forth], I kind of dug deeper into my books. I kind of refused to accept the label that was given to me. I refused the destiny that was kind of designed for me. You see, the system in South Africa has sensitized me. I started feeling that I am working against the demon and the very fact that there was an enemy against which I was working prepared me how to deal with it appropriately."

What sustained "A" was the fact that he was aware of what he was fighting against. Not everybody is aware of the

magnitude of problems associated with apartheid. That awareness pushed him to double his working rate in order to abort the mission of apartheid education. Respondent "C" also mentions that the apartheid system made him to work harder so that he can be a valuable asset to his community. Participant "D" echoes what participant "A" pointed out earlier that apartheid sensitizes people. He says that ". . . it helps to produce consciousness. I would say the system has actually brought black people together. It has enhanced consciousness on those people that, hey, let's come together there's something wrong with this system. It's not working for us. . . . Oh! The system makes me sad. It makes me angry but at the same time I feel that it has made me a very strong person. Well, I would say that it has taught me that where there is a will there is a way, you know, because despite all the stumbling blocks, you know, that apartheid has presented to black people, there are those of us who have somehow managed to go through -- to succeed if you can call that success." Participant "E" sees the situation in the following manner, "I think there are a number of advantages about the system, looking at things from my present position. These are the kind of things one could say are advantages but not necessarily in the sense that the government meant them to be advantages. . . . I think whatever positive or advantage that I might find in Bantu education is probably a by-product. It was not meant to be like that. Bantu education has produced a number of leaders

in the struggle in South Africa. Though the system has instilled low morale in black people, one finds that within this low morale there is a push factor that one has to be somebody to survive the jaws of apartheid. Despite all the hardships, we still survive."

Interviewee "E" adds that he was somehow affected by the apartheid system but instead he confronted it. He explains further; "I think what I did was that instead of getting into the state of denial about the impact of the system on me, I just confronted my situation. And because of that I don't think I still feel bad about it because I am comfortable with what I am doing." The participant seems to be contradicting himself when he says that he is comfortable at present with who he is and what he is involved in. Early on, he pointed out that for anyone to think that she or he has overcome the effects of apartheid would be an "escapist tendency." This is what "A" calls a state of denial, where people do not think that there are still some remnants of apartheid's effect in them no matter how educated they might be. Perhaps what participant "E" implies is that he has managed to make some considerable progress in controlling these effects on him.

Another way in which participants resisted the system was to turn the intended negative aspects of the apartheid system into something positive. That way the respondents were, at least, able to turn the apartheid's bad intentions into something good for their own benefit. On that note,

they do not think the apartheid system has wholly succeeded in bringing them to the canvas. "F" explains how she has resisted apartheid education; "It didn't really manage to bring me down. Instead I had that anger to show that I can do my best, that I have some talent. . . . Whether a thing is good or bad, one gets sort of stimulation of thinking out of it. In a sense it can make you work so hard because being without education can make life difficult, more especially if one is Black. So it gave me strength and it pushed me to do better." These are examples of what participants did to offset what was intended to academically cripple them. Respondent "G" mentions two aspects which sustained him: exposure to educational experiences beyond apartheid education, and perseverance. As the following theme will show, participants were thankful of having been exposed to educational experiences outside South Africa because such exposure helped restore their self-esteem and confidence, at least to an extent.

A Reflection on Educational Experiences Beyond Apartheid Education

Comparatively speaking, all participants detest of the type of education they received in South Africa. They do not seem to see any advantages related to their system of education at least not in the same sense that was meant by the government. In other words, what they find are by-products of the government's intent of promoting apartheid

education. Participant "D" on speaking about her educational experiences in the United States says the latter's ". . . education system is student -oriented. It is open. It is not competitive. The emphasis is on learning and not testing. What is important is for students to learn, you know."

Things did not just settle down without the respondent meeting obstacles during her entry and settling period in the United States. In relating these entry period experiences she states that ". . . it was threatening at first because there was only myself and another male South African in our institution. I was either one of the two black people or the only black person in class. It was difficult for me to settle down, especially coming from a racist environment such as that in South Africa. It was very difficult for me to participate in class even though the system here in the U.S. requires students to participate in their learning. It is not like back home where you just sit and swallow everything that the lecturer says or you just take down notes and leave when the bell goes. No, here you have to be part of the class, you have to talk in class, otherwise, you know, you loose points by not saying anything. People just forget that you are there if you don't say anything. I was therefore always intimidated and so afraid to speak, you know. I would have something to say but at the same time feel intimidated to say it out because I wasn't used to it. Also it was difficult for me to say something in class because I was

brought up to believe that if you have to say something in class it has to make sense, otherwise don't say anything. When I came here I found that people would just say anything they felt like, even crap. So, most of the time I would not know whether to talk or just to keep quiet. It took me some time before I could even raise my hand in class and participate. At first I thought this happened to me alone and when I talked to other South Africans across the U.S. they identified with what I was going through. So, I was intimidated and angry at the system that I come from because it didn't prepare me for this kind of situation."

Respondent "A" says, "The U.S.'s education system has the ingredients of what I envision for South Africa. They have a very strong local control. Parents are part of what is happening in schools." Mphahlele (1990) too does not see education in South Africa improving for the better if the future educational structure will still be managed on a top down basis. Interesting enough, educators of van der Westhuizen's (1992) caliber still advocate for a hierarchical educational structure.

Interviewee "C" says that he did not feel the same pressure felt by "D" because where he went to school there were many international students to offer some consolation and moral support. He states that education in the United States ". . . builds a person. It builds one's confidence and also offers some freedom. Here there is nothing stupid. At least they have got an ear, they listen. It is unlike at

home where if you don't know something you can be even told that you are stupid or that you have given a stupid answer. Education in South Africa is demotivating."

"G" acknowledges that the United States' education system, just like any other system, has its own problems but no specifics were mentioned. This fact is equally shared by the other participants. He feels he owes gratitude to his sponsors who organized a very helpful orientation program that bridged the gap between apartheid education in South Africa and education in the United States. He concludes thus; "I think I must credit my sponsors with their orientation program because that was my first contact with the American education system. I was impressed by the teachers because they were down to earth. They were not hiding anything. They were not authoritative. They were open-minded. They were there not just to lecture but they were there to learn as well. So, when I went over to my institution, you know, I didn't have culture shock. I think the South African and United States' education systems are poles apart. The U.S.'s education system though not perfect, you know, is challenging and at the same time meaningful. I mean you just don't take what the professor or what the teacher says. You can always take your alternative approach as long as you can motivate it accordingly. So, what I am saying confirms what we talked about earlier on, and that is, education in South Africa is inferior and was designed to keep black people in that country subjugated."

Participant "E" who has had numerous experiences internationally, totally condemns apartheid education in South Africa. He says, "The education system in South Africa was meant to destroy black people and it is the worst kind of education I have ever experienced. Even though the other educational systems have their problems, however, in magnitude the educational problems in South Africa far much surpass that of the countries I have been exposed to. The educational systems of the U.S., Egypt and Tanzania are meant to liberate. They are educational systems that are meant to build a nation."

"F" says she feels much more at ease after being exposed to other educational systems. She wraps up by saying, "At least with a lot of exposure to different cultures, and mixing with a lot of international people, one's fears and doubts are sort of laid to rest. . . . The education system in the United States, particularly their tertiary education, is structured such that everybody does learn and when another person doesn't agree with what one is saying that doesn't mean that one is stupid. It's obvious that people have different perceptions toward certain things. I really benefited in the two education systems I went through in the U.S. and Tanzania."

Respondents did not just complain about their education system in South Africa. They also provided some foundation on which future educational discussions in the country can rest.

Research Question 2. What are the recommendations of selected black South African adults in the United States for improving the education system for children and youth in South Africa?

The following responses relate to this major and other related questions that gave direction to this study. The responses are presented thematically.

Respondents' Suggestions for Improvement

Though the participants might have experienced similar apartheid effects, this does not in any way suggest that they advance the same ideas about how education in their country should be reformed. The data suggest some commonalty as well as divergence of thought regarding educational suggestions for building an acceptable system of education in South Africa. Nonetheless, all their suggestions are valuable and provide strong building blocks for conceptualizing a future education system in South Africa. The reader should be reminded that at this stage participants' recommendations are at a general level because their perception of education in South Africa has been approached at that level. Following are eight participants' recommendations, which if implemented, might help suggest possible directions about restructuring education in their country.

1. Partnership for School Improvement

Some of the participants, especially "A" and "C," though not discounting what other participants suggest as ways of improving education in South Africa, are of the opinion that education in this country has been exclusive in nature. They believe that all people should have a say in determining positive educational directions for their children. Thus, they think forming a partnership between the public school and the larger community is an ingredient of a democracy.

Participant "C" suggests that the community, educators, political leaders, political organizations, students and teachers should participate in a joint effort to bring fundamental educational changes in South Africa. He advocates this approach toward rebuilding education in South Africa because he sees these people as knowledgeable about societal and school-related issues thus capable of making constructive and fundamental changes.

Participant "A" heartily believes that there should be a strong working partnership between the larger community and the school. His experience as both a teacher and administrator suggests that there is a gap between what happens in school and what happens in society. Though he unequivocally thinks parents should play a bigger role in the education of their children, he is fully aware of other people's responsibilities, hence he says, "Really what we have to do is to create some kind of partnership, but a partnership that has power and authority. So, really here I

am thinking of the best way in which we can bring the parents back. Parents feel alienated. Let them design the education system or let the education system be designed on the basis of the beliefs of the parents. Let the parents have the role of planning the content in partnership with other groups. Let them be there to decide what they want their kids to learn. Sometimes they need the help of people with some expertise. Nonetheless, the parents should have a strong voice there. The need for experts is not to dictate what should go into the curriculum or how the education should look but maybe to work hand in hand with parents or the community at large -- maybe to echo their needs and concerns in a proper academic language. However, the parents cannot be the sole determiners of how schools should function, we have to incorporate the teachers, we have to incorporate the kids also." Respondent "D" sees educators as people who should play a fundamental role in restructuring the South African education system, though she is not against contributions by other parties. In the main, she would like to see an ". . . education system that sensitizes people to accept and celebrate their differences in a positive way."

2. The Language Dilemma

"C" recommends that the instruction and learning materials in schools should be in the major languages of the country. There seems to be some contradiction here. At first he seemed to suggest that all languages in the country should be given

the same status as English and Afrikaans because ". . . this system's language policy in education blatantly favours those students whose home language is Afrikaans or English. Textbooks should be made available in all the major languages in South Africa," He then seems to suggest something different, and that is, "The forced use of African languages as mediums of instruction throughout primary school has been a handicap to the black community and in education in general. This has constituted an impediment to learning. Moreover, those black students who continue on to secondary school should use English or Afrikaans as mediums of instruction. Lack of language preparation inhibits them from learning and from competing with Whites."

Mawasha (1968) offers another perspective on this issue of language and also emphasizes the importance of African languages. He states that if the latter languages can be given the same status as Afrikaans and English, they can be helpful in minimizing the persistent problem of language being one cause of division in South Africa. He seems, therefore, to disagree with participant "C's" implication that African languages should occupy a lower level to the other languages in the country.

Like respondent "C," participant "B" emphasizes that "English should be offered to students from kindergarten. Then their home languages, though still important should be introduced gradually as they progress." Her suggestion to English and other language speaking groups is that "They

should be forced to pick an additional language other than Afrikaans or English. However, everybody should learn everything in English since it is the medium of instruction of the country."

3. The Unitary System of Education

In essence, all participants believe that a unitary system of education might be helpful in resolving the educational impasse in South Africa. Participant "C" in particular, is fully convinced that for education to change for the better in South Africa "It should be rendered compulsory from the lower primary to high school level, and that it should be unitary." He sees the present departments of education as a waste of precious and scarce resources." Likewise, participant "D" says that if she had all the authority and power, she would ". . . start by making education compulsory for children of school going age -- compulsory and free. Let me say that I would make it one education system for all. I suppose if we have one education system that might guarantee quality in terms of schools and facilities. I would also ensure equal access to quality education. I would like to see an education that produces individuals who are balanced, who are independent, who are self-supporting and who can contribute to the well-being of the country." She believes in an education system that offers freedom to choose where one would like to attend school or to work.

Participant "G" believes that sound and meaningful policies should be effected in order to set a positive trend toward educational change in South Africa. He advocates that such policies should ". . . promulgate that education shall be equal to everybody and compulsory to a certain level, say up to secondary education, and that there shall be equal funding, not for specific or special groups.

Participant "E" favours a unitary but compulsory system of education which also respects cultural diversity. Specifically he says, "The key for me is educational transformation. By that I mean that we need to have a universal type of education. I don't mean education that is the same for the whole world. I mean universal in the sense of unitary. That means all South Africans should go through the same kind of education and that education has to recognize and affirm the different groups in the country. You have to make sure that people understand each other in a positive way. Bantu education did recognize and affirm different groups but in a negative way. So, that will be the kind of movement I would like to see happening in South Africa - one system of education for the country. But it doesn't mean we have to use the white system of education as it prevails today just because it is good. Now coming to the specific things that have to be done. This unitary system of education has to start from the very beginning which is compulsory education for everybody from age six to high school. . . . As far as curriculum is concerned we are not

supposed to get rid of everything that is related to apartheid education, that would not make sense because in our transformation of the educational system, there are definitely elements that are going to be maintained especially in terms of content. We cannot do away with teaching white history in South Africa. Our education system was not only distorted for black people but for white kids also. The distortions have to be rectified but white history has to be taught. We are going to need a greater input from all those people who were deprived of the opportunity to input into that education when it comes to curriculum development.

4. Curriculum Improvement

"A" and "D" think that future educational ventures in South Africa should concentrate on the restoration of black people's self-worth and dignity. According to them such restoration can be done by incorporating the masses' culture in the curriculum. Mzamane (Nkomo, 1990) came to the same conclusion as "A" that a people's culture should be part of the curriculum in a new South African educational structure. Mzamane strongly feels that such step ". . . will restore the underprivileged and oppressed to their history and culture and at the same time validate cultural pluralism. . . . (p.365). Participant "A" is convinced that "If parents can realize the importance of their kids learning about their

culture, the parents will be more than willing to participate in making sure that the kids get the right education."

Respondent "G" believes that one's educational system should have meaning to life experience. In other words, "One's classroom learning should be transferable to solving a wide spectrum of problems. The ingredients that are crucial in this system would be the so-called 3Rs -- Reading, Arithmetic and Writing."

5. Teacher Preparation

Data indicate that some of the problems associated with apartheid education have to do with how black teachers are prepared in tertiary institutions or the lack of such proper preparation. "D" thinks that teacher preparation should be immediately addressed in a future South Africa because the success of students depends to a degree on how well the teachers are well prepared. Specifically, she says "The proper training of teachers, particularly primary school teachers because they are the ones who make or break the education of students, should receive immediate attention so that they can participate on an equal level with their white counterparts."

As indicated earlier, the fact that the participants are all black South Africans does not mean that their perceptions toward apartheid education in South Africa should be the same nor should their suggestions in restructuring education for the better in that country. There are numerous areas where

they agree on what direction education in their country should take.

6. School Integration

Respondent "B" is of the opinion that some educational improvement in South Africa can be brought about by integrating students starting at the elementary level. She feels that if integration is introduced at that level children will not grow up feeling deficient or inferior to other people. Though Bot (1990) agrees with participant "B" that schools in South Africa should be integrated, she is not comfortable with forced integration. Nonetheless, respondent "B" favours one education system which, according to her will ensure equal educational funding.

7. Educational Funding

"C" strongly thinks that "multinational companies" should be part of the coalition for school improvement by providing both content and financial support in the restructuring of education in the country. His major concern is that these companies reap ". . . profits out of black people who are trapped in apartheid. As such they should take some of that money and invest it in education. The companies can also offer tax relief to their employees, award bursaries or provide subsidies to certain educational initiatives." Again, "C" is of the opinion that non governmental organizations should play an important role in

educational reform in South Africa and should therefore be adequately funded because as part of the civil society they are nearer to the people, they know what is needed and thus can be of great help in future educational contributions.

Participant "G" thinks that in the short run there should be a redirection of funds to help close the educational gap between black students and the other population groups.

Specifically, participant "G" thinks that "It would be more appropriate to redirect most of the funds that are propping up the white system into upgrading or trying to alleviate the problems created by Bantu education. This redirection can be done by embarking on various projects like having evening classes and teaching people who were turned off by the sciences and mathematics. All I am saying is that redirect some of the funds which are superfluous in the white education and put them to more needed use in black education. You will not be taking anything but just balancing the budget. Due to the years of neglect you may have to hold constant some of the funds. You will not be taking everything away, you will be transferring what one thinks is the fat, and making that system leaner in attempting to strike some balance."

8. Educational Support Services

Participant "F" thinks that educational restructuring in South Africa should begin from the very base of the

educational structure. What seems very important to her is to target children in their tender years. More specifically she says, " I will start first by getting some projects like daycare schools which will focus on early childhood learning." She also thinks those students falling by the wayside for various reasons should be helped out by referring them to certain appropriate programs and educational institutions. Participant "D" also advances the same motivation as "F" that "There should be remedial education provided for black children."

In sum, participants have shared the reasons they object to apartheid in all its forms. Also explored were their thoughts about a system which they believe would be beneficial to people of all backgrounds in South Africa. In general, respondents reflected on the role of education in a democracy.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This last chapter summarizes the study. The reader is walked through the problem of the study, the purpose of the investigation, the design of the study, the findings of the study, and the recommendations.

Summary

The problem examined in this study is that South Africa sorts people in a way that makes Blacks receive an unequal and separate education. The closer people are to the white power structure, the better their education, and the farther away they are, the poorer their access to opportunities for a quality education on equal terms. The more white you are, the more opportunities and benefits you receive. This system of education does not appear to help students, especially black children and youth, learn at high levels of accomplishment. Rather it creates long lasting problems in people's lives and as such may need to be reformed in a way that permits students of all backgrounds to receive a quality education on equal terms.

The purpose of the study was to better understand reasons black South Africans seem to oppose their education system. More specifically, perceptions of selected black South African adults regarding their education system will be

helpful in suggesting the directions educational reform in this country ought to go.

Specifically, two major research questions guided the investigation: 1. What are the perceptions that selected black South African adults in the United States have toward their experiences in the apartheid education system in South Africa?

2. What are the recommendations of selected black South African adults in the United States for improving the education system for children and youth in black South Africa?

The review of literature in Chapter 2 considers what scholars think and say about apartheid or unequal education in South Africa and in other parts of the world, suggests steps educators may take in solving educational problems, and advances what educators and leaders think education should be like in a future South Africa.

To capture the responses of the seven South Africans who participated in the study, an interviewing method was used. An additional South African helped with field testing this method of data collection. All seven participants responded to certain standard questions. Some questions, though structured differently depending on how they were understood by participants, asked for additional perceptions of the participants toward education in South Africa. Rigorous analysis of data began when all data were collected, and themes were identified to organize and present the responses

of the participants. Parallels between the participants' responses and the educators' or the public's concerns about apartheid or unequal education in South Africa and other settings were presented to clarify the themes. The themes are also used to present the findings.

Major Findings of the Study

Two major research questions are used to present the findings.

Research Question 1: What are the perceptions that selected black South African adults in the United States have toward their experiences in the apartheid education system in South Africa?

Following is a presentation of the findings for each theme. The findings are presented in ten themes.

1. Separate Development in South Africa

A review of the responses suggest that education in South Africa is rooted on the policy of separate development. This concept of separate development, of which meaning is implied under the definition of apartheid in Chapter 1, ". . . rests on sociological assumptions that races are the fundamental divisions of humanity; and that each race, or in the case of the Blacks each major ethnolinguistic group, has its own peculiar culture and destiny, which cannot be fulfilled if the various groups intermingle in a common society" (The Encyclopedia Americana, 1992, p.88).

2. Concerns About the Educational Structure

All participants agree that education in South Africa is deeply rooted in the racist policies of the country -- hence the partitioning of the education system into different racial, and antagonistic departments.

Data further point out that the education of different populations in South Africa is rank ordered, with Whites receiving what participants characterize as the best education, the so-called Coloureds and Indians getting the second best education, and Blacks being given the worst type of education. In other words, favouritism, classism, and preferential treatment of people are only some of the tactics that the government may use to sow divisiveness in the country. Such differential treatment of people breeds feelings of superiority and inferiority. As evidenced by the participants' responses, there are times when they feel inadequate, incompetent, and inferior to the other population groups, particularly to Whites.

Also apparent is the division between the rural and metropolitan systems of education for Blacks. This means that those Blacks who live in the rural areas are under the homelands' system of education while those in the urban areas are under the Department of Education and Training. Participants think that such partitions are responsible for some of the racial and economic problems that are currently plaguing South Africa. Respondents report that the quality of education between the rural and urban areas differs.

Participant "A" in particular talks about the differences in terms of facilities and access to a variety of sources of information. Participant "C" thinks that the quality of education in the homelands is higher than that of Blacks in the so-called white designated areas (urban areas). He cites the high pass rates of the rural areas as an example of high quality education.

3. Inequalities in Educational Expenditure

Data suggest that the way the government appropriates its educational budget is according to the rank ordering of people. The closer people are to the white power structure, the better their education and the farther away they are the poorer their access to opportunities for quality education on equal terms. The more white you are, the more opportunities and benefits you receive.

There is a connection between the educational control and the financial strength of people. In other words, people who are financially well off often have more say and control over school related issues. This leaves out the majority of the people, particularly Blacks, from having positive contributions in school related matters.

4. Inequalities in Educational Facilities

Data indicate that inequalities in and lack of facilities affect the quality of black education and enhance the notion that Blacks are inferior to the other population

groups. Disparities in educational facilities perpetuate stereotypes and promotes feelings of negativity in black people.

5. Discourse on the Quality of Education

Education for Blacks tallies with the social level assigned to them by the South African white power structure -- as fourth class citizens. Comparatively, their education is of low quality to that of the other population groups and this appears to be closely related to the country's apartheid policies. There is also a great concern that black schools offer poor quality education because of their poorly qualified or unqualified teachers. It is also reported that apartheid education dwells much on theory rather than on practice or a blend thereof. Worse still, participants complain that apartheid education does not promote initiative, independence, and critical thinking in black students.

Data point out that the education of the so-called Coloureds and Indians, though arguably a notch or so higher than that of Blacks, is just as debilitating and incomplete as that of the latter.

6. Skewed Curriculum

Apparent from the participants' and the educators' responses is that black education is characterized by omissions and distortions, and consequently contributes to

feelings of self-negation and worthlessness. Participants think that education in South Africa is meant to prepare Blacks for menial jobs and thus should be restructured in a way that serves all people equally, positively, and for similar educational, economic, social, political and job opportunities.

7. Imbalances in the Control of Education

It was clear that Blacks have no say nor control in educational decisions concerning the education of their children or the proper direction of that education. One thing emphasized by the respondents was that the control of education in South Africa is hierarchical. Whites occupy the most valuable and prominent educational positions while Blacks are relegated to the lower and token inspectorship and principalship positions. Specifically, black administrators, teachers, and school boards hold token leadership positions in black schools.

Data also point to the fact that the curriculum in black schools is prepackaged and offered to students for consumption in the form received and thus promoting rote learning. This seems to instil powerlessness that leads black people to think that there is nothing they can do to correct their situation.

8. The Effect of Apartheid Education on the Respondents

The responses point out that the effects of apartheid and apartheid education can be noticed both within and without the classroom. They report certain difficulties which they encountered upon entry into the job market or in other activities outside the school environment. They indicate that there are times when they are unable to apply what was learnt in class to other settings and activities. Thus apartheid education may be responsible for making some black people feel inadequate, incapable, less human, unable to think critically, inferior, anxious to venture in life beyond school, helpless, uneasy, and dubious to participate in class activities.

The educational situation in South Africa made some of the respondents negatively envious of other people thus making them look down upon themselves. It also made them feel bitter, sad and angry at themselves and at the apartheid system as a whole. The responses indicate that growing up in a system such as that in South Africa sometimes creates uncontrollable personality conflicts in some people.

9. Participants' Coping Mechanisms

Despite what participants went or are still going through in their education, they developed unique ways of offsetting their problems and the intents of apartheid in all its forms. Their coping mechanisms permitted them to achieve academic success regardless of being exposed to segregated

education in South Africa. Their endurance helped them to academically succeed despite periods of intense stress in their lives.

10. A Reflection on Educational Experiences Beyond Apartheid Education

It was evident that all participants were opposed to apartheid education because it is the worst form of education compared to the alternative educational systems they have been exposed to in other foreign countries. They expressed satisfaction about the education they received outside South Africa despite certain entry period obstacles in those countries. Participants also indicated that the alternative education they received in other countries other than South Africa promoted self-reliance, critical thinking, and restored self-worth in them.

Research Question 2: What are the recommendations of selected black South African adults in the United States for improving the education system for children and youth in South Africa?

Following are some findings which resulted from what the participants think might be directions for educational reform in South Africa. Participants seem to unanimously agree that the system of education they were exposed to in South Africa is unacceptable and should be replaced by a more equitable system. Eight findings pertaining to participants'

suggestions about education reform in South Africa are advanced.

1. Partnership for School Improvement

Participants think that for education to change for the better in South Africa there has to be a good working relationship between the community and the public schools. There is a feeling that apartheid education has been exclusionary as shown by its unending problems. Though participants advocate for a partnership between the larger community and the school, the fact of the matter is that they seem to differ on the role to be played by the members of the coalition.

2. The Language Dilemma

Data indicate that language will still be a source of concern and friction in a post-apartheid South Africa. There was no agreement among participants about what language to use for instructional purposes. African Languages are at times seen as hindrances in students' academic progress and are thus discouraged in favour of Afrikaans and English. Sometimes scholars would propose that instructional materials should be in all South African major languages. In other words, there is also advocacy that African languages should be on the same level of importance as the European languages.

3. The Unitary State of Education

There seems to be consensus among the participants that apartheid education does not provide on equal terms to all people in South Africa. Data suggest that participants prefer a single ministry of education which will ensure that equal and quality education for all South Africans is a top priority. Also apparent is that there is a call for a compulsory, and free, system of education which affirms diversity in a positive way.

4. Curriculum Improvement

Data point out that curricula in black schools offers no meaning to life beyond the classroom. Thus, there is re-emphasis of the 3Rs (writing, arithmetic, and reading) as part of the core curriculum. Data also show that there is need for the introduction of people's cultures in the school curriculum due to the fact that apartheid education is full of factual distortions and omissions, and promotes self negation in people. There is a conviction that this curriculum situation can be improved by welcoming contributions from different people, especially from people who have been excluded from such activities in the past.

5. Teacher Preparation

Data reveal the concern that poor teacher qualifications in black schools seem to be contributing to the poor quality of black education. Thus the suggestion is that teacher

preparation should be rigorous so that the quality of black education in South Africa can be improved.

6. School Integration

Data show that some people prefer integration of students from their tender years because if there is any change in race relations to be made, it can be initiated at this formative years of children's lives. Also, school and racial mixing at this age level may help children and youth overcome feelings of deficiency and inferiority.

7. Educational Funding

Data suggest that educational funds should be redistributed in order to close the gap among the different population groups. This suggestion seem to be a short term evening out of per capita expenditure across the different racial groups in South Africa.

8. Educational Support Services

Participants realize that though there are people who get academically successful regardless of the strong forces of apartheid, there are those who do not succeed in learning. Thus, data suggest that relevant educational support services should be introduced in public schools to help those students experiencing learning difficulty, successfully learn at high levels of accomplishment.

Recommendations of the Study

This section advances recommendations which might trigger constructive discussions and meaningful contributions toward educational reform in South Africa. For South Africans to ponder in what direction education in their country ought to go, they should be familiar with what that education was like in the past and what it is like at present. Possession of such knowledge might help South Africans suggest realistic educational alternatives to apartheid education. The fact of the matter is that black South Africans would not like to see apartheid or apartheid education relived. As such, they are calling for a more equitable system of education. The research illuminates the seriousness of educational problems in South Africa and what the system of apartheid so tenaciously clung to by the white power structure can do to its people.

The suggestions proposed are made with a post-apartheid South Africa in mind. Though the focus of the study is on black people's perceptions of their education in South Africa, the proposed suggestions are meant for all people in the country. Therefore, these suggestions will be addressed on four levels. First, general recommendations are advanced. Second, recommendations for contemplating an equitable education system are suggested. Third, recommendations for policy making are listed. Finally, recommendations for further research are detailed.

General Recommendations

In Chapter 1, it was stated that the study will contribute a great deal to knowledge about the overt and hidden messages of apartheid education by helping people of all backgrounds to be more aware of and sensitive to the present educational problems in South Africa. Furthermore, this study will engage the South African society to seriously and to critically look at their education and intelligently find ways of bringing fundamental changes which will provide quality education for all. One way of making people aware of their situation is to provide a favourable atmosphere for the exchange of ideas. The media outlet (such as television and radio) in South Africa is strongly regulated thus making it difficult to freely communicate one's thoughts. The so-called controversial issues are deliberately discouraged. Often the so-called neutral opinions are encouraged at the expense of other alternative forms of opinion. Generally, people who advance opposing viewpoints to "popular" opinions face varied forms of intimidation in order to silence them. Such actions spread fear, panic, and silence in people. In most cases information is localized in metropolitan areas and people away from these information centers are sometimes locked out of valuable information. That way people do not get information that might be helpful in sensitizing them. The danger of information embargo, like the one the South African government so actively enforces despite its claim of making headway in dismantling apartheid, is that it makes

some people believe that it was God's will to live a poor and segregated life. Two suggestions to counter this persistent oppression are:

1. Whatever government comes into place in South Africa, its leaders should be open-minded to allow people's views to be aired and heard without any restrictions except where expression conflicts with negative action or any form of endangering behaviour. Thomas Emerson sums up the issue thus; "In the first place, thought and communication are the fountainhead of all expression of the individual personality. To cut off the flow at the source is to dry up the whole stream. Freedom at this point is essential to all other freedoms. Hence society withholds its right of suppression until the stage of action is reached. Second, expression is normally conceived as doing less injury to other social goals than action" (1963, p.7). The truth seems to be that some Blacks are made to feel less significant and inferior because of certain information that is hidden from them thus rendering them vulnerable to believe whatever comes their way. Thus, people's awareness about their daily lives can be raised in varied ways -- television, radio, newsletters, newspapers, by word of mouth and through social clubs.

2. If people are aware of their history, and what role they can play in their daily lives, chances are that they will regain their confidence, dispel negative fabrications directed at them and become valuable assets in the progress of their country. University professors, instructors,

teachers, informed scholars, parents, and students should make it a point that they reach out and raise the consciousness of those people who still have a hard time understanding the connection between apartheid and the way they live.

Recommendations for Contemplating an Equitable Education System

All participants agree that the type of education they received in South Africa has affected them in significant ways, for example, by making them feel inferior, incapable to perform certain duties, and by destroying their dignity as full humanbeings. Following their responses, nine recommendations exploring ways of thinking about an equitable system of education in South Africa are advanced.

1. The new South African government should strive for a single education department. This action will offset redundancy, unnecessary wasting of money and other valuable resources. If the country gets divided into regional districts for efficient governance, there should be certain powers allotted to these different regions. This should not absolve the federal government from ensuring that a fair, equal and quality education is offered to students of all backgrounds. In other words, the government should be the overseer of the whole educational structure. The government should set certain broad policies in which the different regions can operate. Though education may be decentralized,

the federal government would still have responsibility toward equal and quality education for the South African citizenry.

2. The educational structure in a new South Africa should be decentralized. The reason for de-centralization is that those people closer to the learner can make profound differences in improving students' learning than people at the fringes of the educational structure. Local school districts should be given considerable authority and power to determine what students should learn, and also to decide on certain school matters but this should be within certain broad policies. The danger of decentralization is that it may offer an opportune time for extremists like the Afrikaner Resistance Movement to maintain apartheid at all costs. It will be the responsibility of the federal government to make certain that such possibilities are curbed. This can be done by setting clear regulations to guard against undemocratic practices of this nature. If these regulations become violated, the perpetrators should be accordingly disciplined.

3. It will be the responsibility of the government to make certain that school districts are equally funded regardless of their racial compositions or their property tax base. Equally important, the overseer body should ensure that all schools have the necessary educational facilities to facilitate their smooth running and quality education.

4. The curricula offered in schools should be made relevant and meaningful to the lives of the students. Participants emphasized that their education system did not

prepare them for life experiences outside school and as such they felt inadequate at times.

5. Students, parents, teachers, school administrators, and business owners should have a say in school matters. Currently in South Africa students, parents and teachers are left out of the loop when it comes to school issues. The new South African government should move away from the traditional educational practice and usher in a more collaborative system of decision making and shared responsibility. This step will possibly make parents in particular part of the school team where they will lend a helping hand in designing a more tolerable form of education. Students, parents, teachers, school administrators, and business owners can certainly contribute important and beneficial ideas which can ultimately become the building blocks of a future education in South Africa that is just, meaningful, and democratic.

6. In an attempt to restructure education for the better in South Africa, institutions of higher learning should vigorously forge some constructive partnerships with local schools and communities. South Africa's tertiary institutions, especially black institutions, seem to work as ivory towers. In the more than five years the researcher has been a teacher, he does not recall any working relationship between his school and the two local institutions (a teachers' college and a technikon). The only time schools and these institutions work together is when the college

students need to do practice teaching. The students' learning is not the sole responsibility of the teachers. Everybody should pitch in and help build a better education. The idea of forming a partnership is a wise move because it has a potential to draw people of all backgrounds together and closer to the learner. This way the partnership may appreciate the difficulties associated with students' learning and thus be able to offer constructive suggestions.

7. Preservice and inservice teachers or instructors should be prepared to meet the new educational challenges because they are the ones closest to the learners. Teachers have the potential to build or to destroy the learners. Participants complain that their quality of education is poor partly because of the poor or unqualified teachers in black schools. On that note, a proper preparation of teachers should be a top priority in preparing for a more quality and uniform system of education. A mere transferal of teachers and students to understaffed and low-enrolled schools will only bring up other problems.

8. Schools should have the necessary referral programs such as a nursing bays for students who might not benefit much in school due to health or other related reasons. Also having at least a guidance counselor who can help students think about directions in which they would like to go upon completing their high school diplomas might be a good idea. Some of the participants indicated that a lack of guidance counselors in their schools left them with no choice but to

follow directions which if there was help, they would not have taken. This is one big problem in black schools in South Africa.

9. There should be in place a curriculum that will help reverse the damage done on the dignity and humanity of Blacks. How such curriculum should be structured should be left in the hands of the suggested school-community partnership. Also important will be the introduction of a multicultural curriculum in schools. Apartheid has left gaping wounds in people's lives, and a multicultural curriculum might initiate a healing process among the South African citizenry. Also, such curricula might help people cherish each other's differences and similarities in a positive and constructive way. Apartheid education has, over the years, emphasized people's differences in a way that is negative, self-serving, and destructive. This does not imply that other methods of resolving the situation can not be pursued. It is advisable sometimes, to follow multipronged approaches toward resolving certain issues.

Recommendations for Policy Making

Following are two recommendations related to policy making for a future South Africa.

1. The composition of policy makers should be inclusive of people of all backgrounds. This does not mean that there will be fair and just policies as a result of such suggested

collaborative work. However, it will be the right step, possibly in the right educational direction.

2. Policy makers should develop a closer working relationship with the community and schools so that they can experience and observe first hand what goes on in these areas so that they (policy makers) can formulate plausible policies aimed at improving education in South Africa. Often, programs and other change initiatives fail because the people involved resort to prescriptions without a proper understanding of the issues at hand.

Recommendations for Further Research

The study centered on understanding reasons some black South Africans object to their education system. The researcher recognizes the fact that the surface has been scratched regarding the educational problems in South Africa. Following are five research problems that still need scrutiny:

1. The decentralization of power and authority to local school districts is a thorny issue which still needs further research. Exactly how this process of decentralization should be implemented is still a matter of conjecture. Does decentralization imply good quality education? Will decentralization of education give certain people power to cling to apartheid policies? Which aspects of education should be handed down to the school districts?

2. Black schools are underfunded under the present system of education. Participant "G" suggested that the educational funding of Whites should be held constant while that of Blacks is increased to close the gap which was created by the apartheid policies. As such, he is proposing a temporary evening out process of funding inequalities until the educational gap among the different racial population is closed. Is this a legitimate concern? Should the new government ignore the differences in school or per capita funding for different population groups? How can a balance be struck so that everybody can ultimately benefit? Where should the money be generated from? Should it be generated from property taxes? If so, would this not give people with high property taxes absolute power to control school matters? Redistribution of educational funds alone may not solve the poor quality education in South Africa. Other issues related to funding ought to be addressed. This is not an advocacy of anything that might replicate the mistakes of apartheid education.

3. The issue of integration deserves further inquiry. Though one may argue that there is some form of contact among students of all races in most of the private schools, there is still great concern regarding large scale public school integration. Would school integration result in higher performance of those students who experience learning difficulties? How should school integration be introduced in a polarized society such as that in South Africa?

4. There is a need to expand this study to include people who have never had any opportunity of experiencing education beyond apartheid education since the study sought only responses from highly qualified black South Africans. Also the sample population needs to be more inclusive of people of all age groups and backgrounds.

5. The role of institutions of higher learning in a future South Africa deserves attention. What should be their role in a democracy? What contributions can they make in changing education in South Africa for the better?

There are no magical answers to these intricate apartheid related problems. However, open and candid discussions and forums may provide some direction for successfully resolving these problems. Hopefully, the findings of the study will contribute to spirited discussions about quality education for people of all backgrounds. All students, regardless of colour, economic and social background, and gender can learn at high levels of accomplishments if they are provided with constructive learning conditions.

Closing

The purpose of the study was to better understand reasons selected black South African adults object to the type of education they and other Blacks received in South Africa. To understand their perceptions, a qualitative data gathering methodology of semi-structured interviews was used.

Responses were audio taped while crucial perceptions were also written on paper. Participants' responses were analyzed and responses were placed in themes which eventually led to a thematical report of their perceptions and observations about segregated education in South Africa. The data suggest genuine concerns that respondents have about their education system in South Africa. Of paramount importance in the study are the voices of the participants, specifically about how they viewed their education system. Generally, responses by the participants tally with some of the concerns raised by different educators in the first two chapter of the study.

This study reemphasized, as the findings have shown, what different people find objectionable about apartheid education. South Africa is presently torn apart by strife due to its racist policies that have infiltrated every facet of people's lives in the country. What one deduces from examining the responses of the participants and the findings of the study, is that there is still much work to be done in the country following the demise of apartheid in all its forms.

Respondents have clearly demonstrated that race relations in South Africa are extremely strained. There is also ample evidence that different people in the country are still treated on a colour bar basis. Their education system is also divided according to racial qualifications where some people are making noticeable progress at the expense of others. What has become clearer is that the South African

system of education instills inferiority in black people so that they can be governed with relative ease.

The findings suggest that the education of black people deserves speedy attention because the present government withholds black students from making considerable educational progress. Therefore, the future South Africa is responsible for ensuring that people of all backgrounds receive quality education on equal terms.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

A SAMPLE OF PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

A SAMPLE OF PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

OPPOSITION TO UNEQUAL EDUCATION: TOWARD UNDERSTANDING BLACK PEOPLE'S OBJECTIONS TO APARTHEID EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Participant

My name is, Mpho Mohlala, a Doctor of Education candidate in the Cultural Diversity and Curriculum Reform Department at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. I am conducting an inquiry using interviews with black South Africans across the eastern coast of the United States. The purpose of the research is to better understand reasons selected black South Africans reject their education system.

You are being cordially asked to participate in two interviews, each about one hour long. The first interview will center on apartheid and apartheid education. The second interview will be conducted about two weeks after the first, and it will be a follow up of our previous meeting.

Both interviews will be audio taped, and later transcribed. The information will then be analyzed to develop an understanding of your perceptions about the present education system in South Africa, and what recommendations for a future educational system you might suggest.

Findings from the research will be used in:

1. my dissertation
2. class/workplace presentations

3. presentation to conferences or professional groups, and
4. other purposes which might emerge.

To protect your identity, only pseudonyms will be used throughout the study. Your place of residence both in the United States, and in South Africa will not be disclosed. After completion of the study, tapes will be taped-over in order to avoid the risks of being identified. The research findings will be shared with you in a written form.

As a participant, you have the right to withdraw from part or all of the study at any time. Also you have the right to review material at any stage of the research.

In signing this form, you are agreeing to the use of materials from your interviews as indicated in paragraph three above. Should there be a need to use the interviews in any form not previously agreed upon, your permission will be asked. You are also agreeing not to make any financial claims for the use of material from your contribution.

You may contact me at (413) 545-1041 (H) or (413) 545-3642.

Leave a message on either number if no one can take a message.

Sincerely

Mpho Mohlala

You can keep the top portion of this consent form.

I,, have read and understood the above statement, and agree to be a participant in the study under the above conditions.

Signature of participant.....Date.....

Signature of research conductor.....Date.....

APPENDIX B

EDUCATIONAL FUNDING IN SOUTH AFRICA

EDUCATIONAL FUNDING IN SOUTH AFRICA

Table: 1
Expenditure on education in South Africa (including the ten homelands): 1969/70-1991/92

Year	African Rm	Pro- portion of Total	Coloured Rm	Pro- portion of Total	Indian Rm	Pro- portion of Total	White Rm	Pro- portion of Total	Total Rm
1969/70	68,5	16%	41,9	10%	15,8	4%	295,5	70%	421,7
1974/75	131,3	15%	88,6	10%	39,3	5%	611,4	70%	870,6
1979/80	431,2	24%	174,5	10%	83,2	5%	1116,0	62%	1804,9
1984/85	1468,4	31%	570,5	12%	259,3	5%	2465,1	52%	4763,3
1988/89	4096,5	44%	1103,3	12%	463,2	5%	3727,5	40%	9390,5
1989/90	5210,1	45%	1370,4	12%	589,2	5%	4392,6	38%	11562,3
1990/91	6504	44%	2025,4	14%	824,4	6%	5533,5	37%	14887,8
1991/92a	8647,2	48%	2257,7	13%	963,2	5%	5976,7	33%	17844,8

a Figures include supplementary amounts to the various black education departments, but exclude R562m of the R1bn for backlogs in education.

Source: "Education: Finance" (South African Institute of Race Relations), Race Relations Survey 1991/92 Johannesburg, South Africa.

Table: 2

Education expenditure in the homelands^a: 1989/90
and 1990/91

	R		R		Proportional Increase
	1989/90		1990/91		
Bophuthatswana	417 944 000		506 338 126		21%
Ciskei	216 822 000		246 913 000		14%
Gazankulu	237 072 300		283 956 000		20%
KaNqwane	106 729 926		151 951 529 ^b		42%
KwaNdebele	80 091 000		98 920 000		24%
Kwazulu	774 777 800		933 640 000		21%
Lebowa	568 337 000		720 966 000		27%
Qwaqwa	119 715 000		148 885 000		24%
Transkei	551 656 000		832 132 000		51%
Venda	184 973 200		249 439 900		35%
Total	3258 118 226		4173 141 555		28%

a Unless otherwise indicated, amounts given are figures for total estimated expenditure

b Amount to be voted

Source: "Education: Finance" (South African Institute of Race Relations), Race Relations Survey 1991/92 Johannesburg, South Africa.

Table: 3

State per capita expenditure on school pupils by race:
1969/70-1989/90^a

African ^b		Coloured		Indian		White
Expend- iture R	Proportion of White Expenditure	Expend- iture R	Proportion of White Expenditure	Expend- iture R	Proportion of White Expenditure	Expend- iture R
1969/70	5%	94,41	20%	124,40	27%	461,00
1979/80	8%	234,00	20%	389,66	33%	1169,00
1983/84	14%	569,11	34%	1088,00	66%	1654,00
1988/89	25%	1359,78	44%	2227,01	72%	3082,00
1989/90	25%	1983,00	53%	2659,00	71%	3739,00

- a Including capital expenditure
- b Including the ten homelands

Source: "Education: Finance" (South African Institute of Race Relations), Race Relations Survey 1991/92 Johannesburg, South Africa.

Table: 4

Per capita expenditure in schools: 1990/91

	Including capital expenditure R	Excluding capital expenditure R
African (white designated areas)		
Primary schools	777,73	715 40
Secondary schools	1560,47	1466,24
Coloured	N/A	N/A
Indian	N/A	N/A
White	4103,00	3960,00

N/A - Not available

Source: "Education: Finance" (South African Institute of Race Relations), Race Relations Survey 1991/92 Johannesburg, South Africa.

APPENDIX C

A SAMPLE OF STANDARD INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

A SAMPLE OF STANDARD INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Major Study Questions

1. What are the perceptions selected black South African adults in the United States have toward their the apartheid education system in South Africa?

There are certain fundamental questions that fall under this main question. Where possible participants were asked the same questions word for word. At times the wording of these questions varied though the information sought was the same. Following are some of the sub questions related to the above broad question. Questions were not necessarily addressed in this order.

(a) I would appreciate it if we could start the session by letting you help me understand how education in South Africa is structured.

How are the different education departments or what you call a fragmented education system managed?

How are they being financed?

Can you say more about how the education system is fragmented?

What roles do the different population groups play in controlling their education systems?

What would the quality of black education be like compared to that of the other population groups?

There are some South Africans who always say that they do not know what Blacks want. They claim that had it not been because of the apartheid education system that Blacks are against, some black people would not have even succeeded academically. What would be your reaction to this statement?

(b). How did going through the apartheid education system affect you?

How did attending all black schools make you think about the type of education you received?

Now as an adult, how does looking back in time at your education system make you feel?

(c). What would you consider to be the advantages of apartheid education?

(d). Are there any disadvantages you can think of?

(e). What do you think you have learned by going through the system of education in South Africa?

2. What are the recommendations of selected black South African adults in the United States for improving the education system for children and youth in South Africa?

What are the three most important suggestions you think, if implemented, might improve the system of education in South Africa?

What type of education do you think might be acceptable to most South Africans?

3. Background Information

In this case the questions asked focused on age, gender, place of residence in South Africa, life experiences beyond South Africa, reasons for being out side their country, and their comparative analysis of education in South Africa and that in foreign countries.

The researcher had hoped that by seeking background information of participants he would be able to provide the reader with a short profile of each person so that one can understand where they are coming from and connect that with their reasons for objecting apartheid education.

As mentioned earlier, the structure of questions varied from one respondent to another. Some participants opened up and allowed in-depth probing. Others had difficulty opening up. The last thing the inquirer wanted to do was to intimidate them even further.

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